ACTA HISTRIAE

29, 2021, 4



UDK/UDC 94(05) ACTA HISTRIAE 29, 2021, 4, pp. 859-1144 ISSN 1318-0185

UDK/UDC 94(05)

ISSN 1318-0185
e-ISSN 2591-1767

Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko - Koper
Società storica del Litorale - Capodistria

ACTA HISTRIAE
29, 2021, 4

KOPER 2021

ISSN 1318-0185 UDK/UDC 94(05) Letnik 29, leto 2021, številka 4
e-ISSN 2591-1767

Izdajatelja/*Editori/ Published by:* Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko - Koper / Società storica del Litorale - Capodistria© / Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja / Institute IRRIS for Research, Development and Strategies of Society, Culture and Environment / Istituto IRRIS di ricerca, sviluppo e strategie della società, cultura e ambiente©

Sedež/*Sede/Address:* Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko, SI-6000 Koper-Capodistria, Garibaldijeva 18 / Via Garibaldi 18
e-mail: actahistriae@gmail.com; https://zdjp.si/

Tisk/*Stampa/Print:* Založništvo PADRE d.o.o.

Naklada/Tiratura/Copies: 300 izvodov/copie/copies

Finančna podpora/ *Supporto finanziario/ Financially supported by:* Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije / Slovenian Research Agency, Mestna občina Koper

Slika na naslovnici/ *Foto di copertina/ Picture on the cover:* *Delavke v Tobačni tovarni Ljubljana, Mestni muzej Ljubljana (MGML). / Lavoratrici presso la fabbrica di tabacchi di Lubiana, Museo della Città di Lubiana (MGML). / Female Workers at the Ljubljana Tobacco Factory, City Museum of Ljubljana (MGML).*

Redakcija te številke je bila zaključena 31. decembra 2021.

Revija Acta Histriae je vključena v naslednje podatkovne baze / Gli articoli pubblicati in questa rivista sono inclusi nei seguenti indici di citazione / Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in: CLARIVATE ANALYTICS (USA): Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), Social Scisearch, Arts and Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI), Journal Citation Reports / Social Sciences Edition (USA); IBZ, Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur (GER); International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS) (UK); Referativnyi Zhurnal Viniti (RUS); European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH PLUS); Elsevier B. V.: SCOPUS (NL); DOAJ.

Navodila avtorjem in vsi članki v barvni verziji so prosto dostopni na spletni strani: https://zdjp.si.
Le norme redazionali e tutti gli articoli nella versione a colori sono disponibili gratuitamente sul sito: https://zdjp.si/it/.
The submission guidelines and all articles are freely available in color via website http: https://zdjp.si/en/.

OPEN ACCESS

UDK/UDC 94(05) Volume 29, Koper 2021, issue 4 ISSN 1318-0185
e-ISSN 2591-1767

VSEBINA / *INDICE GENERALE / CONTENTS*

Received: 2021-03-21 DOI 10.19233/AH.2021.34

WOMEN TEACHERS IN THE WHIRLWIND OF POST-WAR CHANGES IN THE JULIAN MARCH (1918–1926)

Marta VERGINELLA
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: marta.verginella@ff.uni-lj.si

ABSTRACT

The article addresses changes occurring in education in the Julian March after November 1918. Based on the press and archival materials, it provides an analysis of the school authorities' policy and the response of Slovene and Croatian teachers to a gradual closing of minority schools, with special attention to the position and operation of Slovene women teachers and their attitude towards the woman question. Attempting to adjust to the new circumstances and to defy Italianization, the Slovene minority school system introduced new forms of self-organization and intensive political activities. It was particularly Slovene women teachers who intensified their professional and public operation in the transition period also because the post-war period was favourably disposed towards young teachers. Being cut away from Ljubljana, the cultural and political centre, and aversion to the new state and its nationalist politics contributed to the susceptibility to radical trains of thought, also in terms of the woman question.

Keywords: teachers, Julian March, transition, women question, antifascism

INSEGNANTI NEL VORTICE DEI CAMBIAMENTI DEL DOPOGUERRA NELLA VENEZIA GIULIA (1918–1926)

SINTESI

L'articolo affronta i cambiamenti avvenuti nel sistema scolastico della Venezia Giulia dopo il novembre 1918. Sulla base della stampa e dei materiali d'archivio, fornisce un'analisi della politica delle autorità scolastiche e la risposta degli insegnanti sloveni e croati alla graduale chiusura delle scuole delle minoranze, con particolare attenzione alla posizione e al ruolo svolto dalle insegnanti slovene, impegnate anche sul fronte della questione femminile. Nel tentativo di adattarsi alle nuove circostanze e di sfidare la politica di italianizzazione, il sistema scolastico della minoranza slovena ha introdotto nuove forme di autorganizzazione, sostenuta da una intensa attività politica. Soprattutto le insegnanti slovene intensificarono la loro attività professionale e pubblica nel periodo di transizione anche perché il dopoguerra fu favorevolmente predisposto nei confronti delle più giovani. La lontananza dal centro culturale e politico sloveno e l'avversione per il nuovo Stato e la sua politica nazionalista hanno contribuito l'adesione a correnti di pensiero radicali, anche in tema di questione femminile.

Parole chiave: maestre, Venezia Giulia, transizione, questione femminile, antifascismo

INTRODUCTION[1]

At the turn of the 20th century, women's role in education began to increase in many European countries. They were allowed to attend teachers' training schools from the 1870s onwards; from 1880s onwards these schools turned into bona fide generators of educated girls, particularly in countries with compulsory basic schooling. Girls from the middle class were given an opportunity to acquire secondary-school education and, in many instances, vocational independence. Much like elsewhere in Europe, in Italy and Austria-Hungary teaching was increasingly feminized, particularly at the turn of the 19th and 20th century. The end of World War I saw a significant increase in the number of women teachers; however, their membership in rank organizations was not reflected in greater decision-making power (De Fort, 1981).

The article addresses changes occurring in education in the Julian March, which included the areas of Gorizia and Trieste, as well as Istria, the attitude of the new political authorities towards schooling and educators regardless of their gender. Based on the press and archival materials, it provides an analysis of the school authorities' policy and the response of Slovene and Croatian teachers to a gradual closing of minority schools, with special attention to the position and operation of Slovene women teachers and their attitude towards the woman question.

SCHOOLING IN TRANSITION

On 14 February 1919 the Triestine Slovene-language periodical *Edinost* published an article about the changes in Vienna that were brought about by the post-war period. The author of this article does not hide his contentment that women who had been kept away from home and their traditional roles returned to "their calling":

> *If you came to Vienna during the war, you saw women working everywhere. You were bothered by a woman conductor on the railway, a nice woman conductor handed you the ticket on a tram, letters were delivered by women. There were women in uniforms everywhere. They were dragged away from their families and hearths, their work was needed elsewhere and they were robbed of their female character, at least in part. People thought that men would not get jobs upon their return. But this was settled quickly. Men returned to their posts. Women lost the railway and the tram, offices and barbershops, all sectors that were previously occupied by men exclusively. Women conductors will continue to exist only in the history of the bloody war. Now what? Did they earn more than for food and rags? Are they not too old to play the 'domestic daughter' and to miserable conditions allow for this? Will they get new jobs? Their only option is marriage and even*

1 The article was elaborated within the EIRENE project (full title: Post-war transitions in gendered perspective: the case of the North-Eastern Adriatic Region), founded by the European Research Council under Horizon 2020 financed Advanced Grant founding scheme [ERC Grant Agreement n. 742683].

> *this is impossible in the ongoing situation for the majority of little girls. To them, peace signifies a horrible war for bread and clothes. Will they be able to fight for this naturally and not fall prey to men, not out of recklessness but because they need clothes, shoes, food, accommodation, everything, everything, everything. The battlefield of the street will be horrendous and nowadays mankind is tasked – not only in Vienna – with preventing this miserable shameful struggle, the worst that history will ever know. Will mankind be strong enough? It has obligations because these are the fruits of its own mistakes.*[2]

In terms of moralistic and misogynist accents, this depiction of the new period published in the Triestine periodical *Edinost* does not differ from many others that appeared in the post-war press on the fringes of the former Habsburg empire, which were in 1918 occupied by Italian troops, or elsewhere in Europe. As is the case with post-war transitional periods in general, the public discourse reflected the aspirations for the so-called "cultural demobilization" or the discontinuation of wartime mentality that, inter alia, enabled women to enter the public sphere (Sharp & Stibbe, 2011; Horne, 2005) and highlighted the need to return to "normality" that was at the time equated with the pre-war patriarchal order (Handrahan, 2004). Hopes and efforts to restore the pre-war situation in the economic, political and social sense were abundant, not only among conservative powers that opposed radical social changes and thus regarded women's emancipation with disfavour, but also among liberals, who were afraid of radical changes and the related overly established women's equality.

A commentary published in *Učiteljski list*, a journal of Slovene and Croatian teachers in the Julian March, is interesting in this regard.[3] It mentions the necessity of setting boundaries to the "post-war dissoluteness, vanity and extravagance" and welcomes the initiative of the society of "our women" and its formation of a front that would stand up to "all evil that was dispersed after the war, even to the small alpine hamlets."[4]

A severe economic crisis and mass unemployment after the war called for swift a action in the Italian-occupied territory. Two million people were unemployed in Italy in 1919, many of whom were veterans and teachers with university education. Orlando's, Nitti's, and Giolitti's post-war governments dealt with a general rebellious atmosphere, which was created by workers, as well as many educated individuals. It was maintained in the periodical *La scuola* that the discontent among teachers was also a consequence of their low salaries; teachers were paid even less than workers

2 *Edinost*, 14 February 1919: Nova doba in Dunajčanke, IV.

3 *Učiteljski list* was published in Trieste from 1920 to 1926 as a journal of the Association of Slavic (in places written as Yugoslav) Teachers. Initially, it published texts written by both liberal and socialist writers. After 1921 the rift between "representatives of the bourgeoisie" who argued that it is necessary to "do one's duty and be loyal to one's new homeland and its laws" and those who maintained that "socialism must be a domain of all parties" increased and the socialist-oriented writers prevailed (*Učiteljski list*, 1 September 1921: Naše stališče, 1).

4 *Učiteljski list*, 10 December 1922: Razne vesti. Ženski svet, 280.

(Barbagli, 1974, 474–475). The situation in the labour market set the tone for a reform of the school system, which was advocated also by the teachers' association Unione nazionale delle maestre e dei maestri italiani. A major reform of the Italian school system was supported by leading Italian liberal intellectuals and educators, one of whom deserves particular mention, namely the Sicilian pedagogue Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, also due to his efforts in courses for teachers in new provinces that were organized by the Italian school authorities.[5] There were too many people with secondary-school or university education in Italy; consequently, one of the goals of the new school reform, which was named after its main creator Giovanni Gentile, was to limit the access to university and enrolment in specific study courses. With the establishment of women's lyceum that was thought to have sufficed for Italian girls' intellectual and moral needs, the reform aimed to limit girls' university education and, first and foremost, to reduce the number of girls enrolling in teachers' training schools (Barbagli, 1974, 460–461, 484).[6]

Attempts to curtail the employment of women teachers, particularly by means of lower salaries,[7] turned out not to be efficient enough. Also because the prevailing pedagogical discourse from the second part of the 19th century onwards bestowed a social and maternal calling on women educators, making them responsible for teaching the mother tongue, spreading basic knowledge among children and nation, as well as for strengthening national sentiments. Initially, they were regarded as an extension of motherhood, but soon became the "heart" of the teaching staff (Soldani, 1993, 68).[8]

The fascist authorities recognized women teachers as conveyors of basic knowledge for tackling life (Soldani, 1993, 69); however, due to their increase, the authorities attempted to prevent them from accessing the most important positions as well, especially from becoming headmistresses (De Grazia, 1992, 197). This was not always the case in the Julian March, where Italian women teachers played an important role

5 Giuseppe Lombardo Radice (1879–1938), a cocreator of Gentile's reform was in charge of primary school system in the years 1922/24. On his efforts to improve teachers' education and form the "national school system" see Dessardo, 2018, 7–8. He argued that in "new provinces" Italian school authorities should combine the functionality of the former Austrian school system with Italian patriotic culture (Dessardo, 2018, 11–13). His opinion must have been influenced by his wife Gemma Harasim, a teacher and pedagogue from Rijeka. More on Gemma Harasim see Sistoli Paoli, 2009.

6 Higher education was a sort of "parking" for girls (Barbagli, 1974, 233–239). On the specificity of women's lyceum in Trieste, which had operated already in Austria see *La scuola al Confine*, 10–11–12, I, June–July 1924: Il liceo femminile, 36–40.

7 According to the Casati Act, which was passed in 1859, women teachers' salary equalled three-quarters of that of their male counterparts (Soldani, 1993, 83); the situation in Austria was similar, where women teachers were paid 20% less than their male colleagues. The Slovene Woman Teachers' Society, which was established in Ljubljana in 1898 to provide material support to women teachers and advocate for their right to further education, aimed to do away with differences in salary based on teachers' gender (Hojan, 1998, 138–139). The Association of Slovene Teachers' Societies, which was formed in 1889, did not protect their interests to a sufficient degree.

8 In an unsigned article published in *Učiteljski list* in 1921 teachers were regarded as the lungs of the nation: "If the lungs whither away, the entire nation is sick." (*Učiteljski list,* 16 January 1921: Suha roba, 2).

in the establishment of the new school system, particularly kindergartens, and were an indispensable player in the struggle for national primacy (Rolandi, 2020).

Before 1918, it was easiest for women teachers to find employment in kindergartens and primary schools in the periphery of the Kingdom of Italy, where municipal authorities had less money for schooling and thus strove to employ cheaper and less educated teaching staff (Soldani, 1993, 91). The situation was similar in the Austrian Cisleithania, where women teachers were given less-respected positions and were paid less than their male counterparts (Milharčič Hladnik, 1995, 57–61).[9] Teachers' training schools, which were established by the central Austrian authorities in provinces' most important cities[10] and included women's classes after 1869, increased significantly the share of women in the ranks of teachers.[11] Following the occupation of the former Austrian Littoral and Istria, Italian school authorities attempted to fill the available spots with Italian women teachers, alumni of the teachers' training school in Gorizia and other schools in the province and the state. Even though the number of students enrolled in the Italian section of the Gorizian teachers' training school tripled in number in 1914 (Pillon, 2005, 144), the post-war number of alumni did not suffice for covering the needs in the territory of the Julian March after 1918. Their appointments were often accompanied by polemics because the school authorities sent them to the most remote places, while those coming from other parts of Italy were given posts in cities.[12]

The mission of all teachers' training schools in the new provinces was to inspire teachers for pro-Italian sentiments. The one in Tolmin, where Slovene and Croatian teachers were educated, had to bend to this agenda as well. Their accommodation was provided by the *Convitto Francesco Skodnik*, which invited boarders of both genders every year, mostly offering free board and lodging.[13] In the school year 1926/27, out of a total of 73 spots there were 33 spots intended for girls, the bulk of which were offered free of charge (in 1924 there were 60 spots offered for free), which implies that the new school authorities were prepared to invest in the acquisition of Slovene and Croatian students of both genders.[14] They believed that after the discontinuation of Slovene-language education they would turn into patriotic Italian teachers that would be capable of working in a nationally challenging and non-homogenous area. By making Italian the obligatory medium of instruction, the Gentile reform generated a legal basis for a discontinuation of minority schooling on all levels.

9 As a rule, a woman teacher gave up her job if she got married, she could keep her position if she married a male teacher.

10 A women's teachers' training school with a Slovene, Italian and German section was established in Gorizia on 10 July 1875 (Tul, 2005, 112). On teachers' training schools in Austria cf. Engelbrecht, 1986.

11 On the increased enrolment in the Gorizian teachers' training school at the end of the 19th century cf. Pillon, 2005, 160.

12 *Battaglie per la scuola*, 9, V, November 1924: Folletto, Giobbe avrebbe più pazienza di alcune maestre?, 1–2.

13 ASTs, PAST, b. 135.

14 On how non-natives, the so-called *allogeni*, were treated with forbearance during their enrolment even if they had finished schools abroad, i.e. in Yugoslavia, see *La scuola al confine*, I, 16, October 1924: Convitto »D. Alighieri« di Gorizia. 60 posti gratuiti, 7.

Italian was introduced as a medium of instruction in the first classes of all elementary schools in the Italian territory with the school year 1923/24, and the remaining classes followed suit in the following years. In Idrija, Slovene junior *gimnazija* was discontinued with the Royal Decree No. 2224 of 27 September 1923; in Tolmin, Slovene language was removed as a medium of instruction with the Royal Decree of 23 October 1925. With the end of the school year 1928/29 Slovene and Croatian were completely removed from primary schools in the Julian March; the only private Slovene school (a remnant of Sts. Cyril and Methodius schools) in Trieste was discontinued with a decree issued at the beginning of the school year 1930/31. Boarding institutions for the native population, such as *Convitto Francesco Skodnik*, were tailored to meet the demands of the new national and political mission.[15]

As a journal of Slovene and Croatian teachers,[16] *Učiteljski list* published reports on a regular basis about the restructuring of Slovene and Croatian schools, their discontinuation, dismissals and transfers of Slovene and Croatian women teachers, as well as appointments of new women teachers who had no command of the children's mother tongue. The transfer of the Slovene section of teachers' training school from Gorizia to Tolmin, where a preparatory school for a coeducational teachers' training school began its operation in 1919, was a well-planned choice of the new authorities. By choosing a town in the periphery, they initially sought to limit and in 1928 finally disrupt the education of Slovene teachers, which had taken place in Gorizia in the Austro-Hungarian period. The transfer of the preparatory school for the teachers' training school from Tolmin to Cerkno, which was formally never carried out despite having been approved by the Civil Affairs Office on 10 February 1919, points to a search for temporary solutions for the minorities' secondary-school education, which was initially transferred from the most important urban centres to the periphery and then completely Italianized and discontinued by means of the Gentile reform. *La scuola al confine*, the journal of the school *proveditorato* in the Julian March, announced in 1927 that school in Italy could be only *fascist*.[17]

The introduction of the exclusively Italian school system did not occur without difficulties or disagreements between the centre and the periphery, but also between individuals and institutions, which is evident from reports written by the

15 ASTs, PAST, b. 135, Relazione sull'andamento nell'anno scolastico, Trieste 1927.

16 Up to the end of World War I, teachers in the Littoral were part of the Austrian Yugoslav Teachers' Association, which was headquartered in Ljubljana. With the introduction of the new border and on the initiative of Anton Grmek, the Slavic Teachers' Association in the Julian March was established on 16 November 1919; its first assembly convened on 2 February 1920. On 1 March 1920 this association published the first issue of its periodical *Učiteljski list*, from January 1921 onwards it published also *Novi rod* in Slovene and from April 1921 onwards *Naša nada* in Croatian. The association's activities included, inter alia, training courses for Slovene and Croatian teachers. More in: OZE NŠK, Šolstvo, fasc. Zveza slovanskih učiteljskih društev v Julijski krajini, No. 2.

17 *La scuola al confine*, III, 9, 15 February 1926: A. Morgana, La scuola fascista, 117–119.

leaders of ONAIR,[18] which address events occurring in the Tolmin kindergarten in the school year 1923/24, where candidates from the Tolmin teachers' training college were interns and which was ran by the teacher of didactics Augusta Articoli Cipparrone. The leadership of ONAIR was convinced that her tactless and inappropriate conduct and her disregard of the local conditions during lessons caused severe damage to the kindergarten and its moral and political position and, consequently, the organization's further operation.

> *The teacher in question engaged in conduct that is inappropriate for a kindergarten and caused distress to the community. In the kindergarten she addressed a teacher and children in an inappropriate manner, telling the teacher rudely to explain what she taught them in the dialect and said repeatedly that they 'speak an ugly language at home'. Word got out and Slovene periodicals reported about the incident; they incited a campaign that resulted in the number of children attending the kindergarten being reduced by half, i.e. a mere 46 children out of a total of 62 attended the kindergarten. A communication sent by the provincial headmistress of ONAIR to Rome on 16 June 1926 demonstrates that the teacher asked for leave of absence due to her distress; the professor was punished and documents associated with the incident were handed over to the Ministry of Education.*[19]

From 1921 onwards ONAIR planned to establish kindergartens in the Triestine and Gorizian region, mostly in the most important Slovene centres, e.g. Postojna, Divača, Bovec, and Kobarid. The teacher Colombicchio Radoicovich is credited with its opening in Kobarid in 1923. Her selflessness was stressed in a letter sent to Rome, as was the necessity of charitable work, and the inappropriateness of "political concepts." When establishing Italian kindergartens in a completely Slovene environment, the leadership of ONAIR counted on the "right persons" or adequate teaching staff, which is evident from from a communication that mentions the teacher Colombicchio and her importance for the establishment of the school and kindergarten in Idrija: "We must do well, even better than we did in the past." When replacing Slovene schools with Italian ones, "we count on her to win over the environment in Idrija, so that the kindergarten and the school will be a success, which will make ONAIR will look good, etc."[20]

18 About ONAIR (*Opera nazionale di assistenza Italia Redenta Comitato regionale per la Venezia Giulia*) and the establishment of Italian kindergartens and workshops for girls in Julian March cf. Downs, 2018, and Gobatto, 2012.

19 ASTs, ONAIR, ex b. 1, scatola 1, fasc. Giunta Esecutiva centrale, Prof. Cipparone, 16 June 1926. From November 1919 onwards Opera nazionale di assistenza Italia Redenta and its provincial committee (ASTs, ONAIR, ex b. 1, scatola 1, fasc. Giunta Esecutiva centrale, Trieste 14 November 1919; Ispettrice Regionale Donna Bona Luzzato (P.N. 355/1) Trieste, 23 April 1923).

20 ASTs, ONAIR, ex b. 1, scatola 1, fasc. Giunta Esecutiva centrale, Gentilissima Signorina Edvige Costantini, 16 November 1923.

TEACHERS' MIGRATIONS AND THE ITALIANIZATION OF SCHOOLING

The question of continuity or discontinuity with the pre-war period was at the very core of the Italian school policy in new provinces; however, as we are about to find out, it was addressed also by Slovene teachers, particularly by women. From 19 November 1918 onwards, with the introduction of the Italian military administration, began a gradual Italianization of Slovene and Croatian schools in Gorizia and Gradisca, Inner Carniola, Trieste, and Istria (Barbalič, 1918, 117),[21] i.e. in areas encompassed by the Julian March, the new administrative-political unit (Kacin Wohinz, 1972, 77). The expedited deconstruction of the Slovene and Croatian school system is evident from the official sources, as well as from the Slovene and Croatian press despite the statement made by General Carlo Pettiti di Roreto upon his assumption of the military and civil authority (Brevi cenni, 1921, 17) that "barring German, the Italian administration shall keep all schools in the occupied territory regardless of the language" and even though specific official reports written by the Italian administration were filled with positive notes stating that "the authorities saw to the opening of as many Slovene and Croatian schools as possible in the spirit of equality and political peace." In 1919 there were 36 Slovene schools discontinued, 60 Croatian, 23 German, and 21 utraquist schools, totalling 139, and a mere 9 Italian ones.[22]

The question of schools was recognized as one of the central questions of the occupation policy from the very arrival of Italian authorities. All types of German schools were discontinued.[23] The rate of Italianization of the school system varied in different areas, it was contingent upon the local school authorities' and teachers' political orientation, as well as of the number of the non-Italian population and its response to the post-war political changes. Many Slovene schools were not restored, e.g. in the territory of the former Austrian Littoral, a few of them were turned into Italian schools without any legal basis. Italian occupation authorities prohibited the establishment of new Slovene and Croatian private schools; similarly, they hindered private lessons of Slovene and Croatian as well.

In January 1919 the General Secretariat for Civil Affairs with the supreme command of the Italian army issued instructions for the reemployment of public servants in the occupied territories. The appointment of teachers in municipal

21 Immediately after the end of the war the area of Poreč, Pazin, and Pula saw a swift discontinuation of Croatian-language women's schools.

22 Lavo Čermelj provided the number of discontinued Slovene and Croatian schools, as well as classes and teaching posts. After 1919 they totalled only 392 instead 540. Out of a total of 49 public and private Croatian schools only 4 remained in operation in the Pula district, all others were turned into Italian schools (Čermelj, 1974, 41–42).

23 Italian authorities kept German schools in the area of Tarvisio and the Canal Valley, areas populated by the German minority, and discontinued them in Gorizia, Trieste and elsewhere. In the first post-war period the military authorities were particularly averse to German teachers, which is demonstrated by the case of Elena Camus, a teacher and a widow, a "German" who wanted to teach in Trieste. Even though "her conduct was good [...], no stringent circumstance justified her arrival in Trieste." (ASTs, CCCTT, b. 4).

and primary schools was confirmed and approved by the Provinicial School Council, which was in the domain of the military authorities. All public servants were controlled by the supreme military command, the government's body in the occupied territories. The military authorities were quick to begin gathering data on teachers' political and ethic orientation, as well as on their teaching activities. The pre-war teaching staff was subject to strict political control, regardless of their national belonging.[24] The new authorities paid particular attention to Slovene and Croatian teachers because they recognized them as a potential obstacle for a comprehensive and radical Italianization of the acquired, "liberated" areas.[25] In their treatise entitled *Scuola e confine. Le educazioni educative della Venezia Giulia 1915–1945* Adriano Andri and Giulio Mellinato argue that the introduction of the Italian military administration in the Julian March brought about a difficult atmosphere which was reflected in permanent tensions that were deepened by the *fasci's* violent operation and stemmed from the "rigidity of the soldiers' anti-democratic tendency and the short-sidedness of state officials who were sent from old provinces to the new ones and were unwilling to understand the complexity and diversity of social, political and ethnic problems in the Julian March." (Andri & Mellinato, 1994, 41).

The governor's and civil commissioners' initial moderate stance (Kacin Wohinz, 1972, 80, 120–121) bent to demands voiced by irredentist circles very quickly; they demanded a planned Italianization of education and the removal of "Slavic" education (Apollonio, 2001, 53). Istria was the first to see this materialized, Trieste and Gorizia followed suit, while in the Littoral's interior this took place at a later point.[26] The governor's reconciliatory tone that hinted at respecting all languages and customs of the population in the new Italian province (Nuova Regione d'Italia), not indicating a desire for retaliation and prosecution (Visintin, 1991, 27), was met with criticism expressed by spontaneously formed epuration committees, advocates for "patriotic moralization" that reproached him for being too cautious and favourably disposed towards Italy's opponents (Visintin, 1991, 29–30). Following the abolishment of the military high command and the introduction of the Central Office for the New Provinces of the Kingdom (*Ufficio Centrale per le Nuove Provincie del Regno*) 1 August 1919, which was helmed by Francesco Salata, a native of Istria known for his irredentist zest, the Italian

24 On gathering information about Italian teachers and staff employed in Italian schools in ASTs, CCCTT, b. 11, fasc. 17, Informazioni personali.

25 A report about teachers in private Slovene schools established by the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Society in Trieste's Via Giuliani and Acquedotto, where a few politically active women teachers were employed – of whom Pavla Hočevar and Ilka Vašte deserve particular mention (Vašte, 1964, 131; Debelli Turk, 1980, 103; Lavrenčič Pahor, 1994, 483) – states that the conditions were satisfactory and that "nothing negative" can be said about them, as well as that the majority of teachers had a good command of Italian. The author of this report was convinced that Slovene teachers should be controlled more intensively and continually, as well as that it was necessary to employ teachers who "tested and approved national sentiments." (ASTs, CCCTT, b. 7).

26 *Učiteljski list*, 16 October 1921: Bič krivice, II.

authorities adopted a negative attitude towards Slovene and Croatian teachers. The authorities followed guidelines promoted by the former president of Lege Nazionale in Pula Rodolfo Corenich and Francesco Rauni, the founder of *Il nuovo giornale di Pola*. They were convinced that Italian schools and kindergartens should be established in each Slovene and Croatian settlement and that competent Italian teachers from Istria, Trieste and Gorizia (Dessardo, 2015)[27] should be appointed to expedite the Italianization of new provinces

Andrea Dessardo, who conducted a comparative research of the transitional period in education in South Tyrol and in the Julian March, maintains that there was a shortage of teachers despite the discontinuation of Slovene and Croatian schools in eastern provinces. According to the calculations of the General Civil Commissariat the Julian March was short of 892 teachers, 440 Slovene, 249 German, 169 Croatian,[28] and 30 teachers in utraquist schools; however, as pointed out by the political society Edinost, many teachers were prosecuted, interned or deemed politically inappropriate and dismissed by the new authorities (Dessardo, 2015, 83–87; Bajc, 2018, 1022–1027).

The aspirations to bring teachers favourably disposed towards Italy to the new provinces was expressed clearly by the commissioner for autonomous matters of the Istrian district (*Commissario per gli Affari autonomi della Giunta Istriana*) on 15 July 1920. He had no intention to open Croatian schools that had been closed after 1918 "until there were no politically and nationally trustworthy teachers available." To this end, he proposed to offer grants for Italian teachers willing to learn Croatian and Slovene or a raise (up to 50%) for teaching in "Slavic" schools. His instructions were exhaustive and concerned the necessary control of "Slavic" teachers, the expedited dismissal of teachers appointed up to that point, the control of clergy that resisted teaching in Italian, as well as teaching Italian as an independent subject in all existing "Slavic" schools (Dessardo, 2015, 96). Apollonio argued that the policy of growing aversion to the Slovene and Croatian population was an expression of the growing influence of Italian irredentists in new administrative structures,

27 Carmelo Cottone mentions the excellent atmosphere among the teaching staff, consisting of locals and newcomers from different parts of the kingdom. Initial disputes that manifested themselves due to their different belonging were said to be done away with in passing. Problems occurred only when teachers were appointed in the countryside, from where teachers originating from other provinces often returned to their place of origin in no time. To prevent that, Cottone proposed special tax allowances and bonuses for male teachers, whom he considered to be more resilient in unfavourable conditions than their female counterparts (Cottone, 1938, 162). On the negative attitude towards teachers from Italian provinces due to the "sense of superiority", "ignorance of Italian school legislature" and "attachment to the former Austrian order" see also I maestri, 1922, 5.

28 From the very beginning of the Italian administration, Italian military high commands implemented more repressive policies in Croatian Istria. Apollonio maintained that this is also a consequence of strained relations between the Croatian clergy and notable Italian figures there (Apollonio, 2001, 53). These policies are believed to have resulted in not opening secondary schools with Croatian as the language of instruction in Pula and a lyceum in Pazin.

but also of the increasing Slovene and Italian organisational structure that did not hide its aversion to the new authorities and annexation of the occupied territory into Italy.[29]

From the first months of the occupation onwards the military leadership observed closely the response of the Slovene and Croatian population to political changes in the Italian-occupied territory; this applies also to events taking place in the international arena, particularly in neighbouring Yugoslavia. The Italian military apparatus paid particular attention to all forms of political and national activities, which was abundant among educators. *Učiteljski list* wrote about "pursuing, prosecuting teachers, who refused to believe that this situation was healthy or endurable, a subject that one would rather not address because this is a sad chapter that should be addressed by history."[30] Schooling was thus recognized as a sphere of skirmishes and, subsequently, battles of the national politics of both the winners and of the defeated (Tognon, 1990, 14). It is evident from reports drawn up for the military high command[31] that the establishment of national primacy in the sphere of education was of key importance to the new Italian authorities in the Julian March. However, it ought to be pointed out that this was not an Italian post-war peculiarity because the situation was similar in Styria, Prekmurje, in multilingual and multiethnic border areas belonging to the Yugoslav state, as well as in Carinthia, which came under Austrian rule after the 1920 plebiscite. In a comparative light, the Italian case is marked by speed and radicalness, not only in multiethnic urban centres, but also in territories inhabited homogeneously by the Slovene and Croatian population.

In many a Slovene and Croatian school dismissed Slovene and Italian teachers were initially replaced by soldiers even though they had no pedagogical experience (Dessardo, 2015, 86; Sofri, 2019). *Učiteljski list* drew attention to the decline of quality education, improvisation, inability of the new school authorities to reform the school system in a "modern spirit" and build upon what was best in the Austrian and Italian school legislature.[32] On 8 January 1920 the Slovene political society Edinost demanded from the Italian authorities to reopen all schools that had been in operation before the Italian occupation and

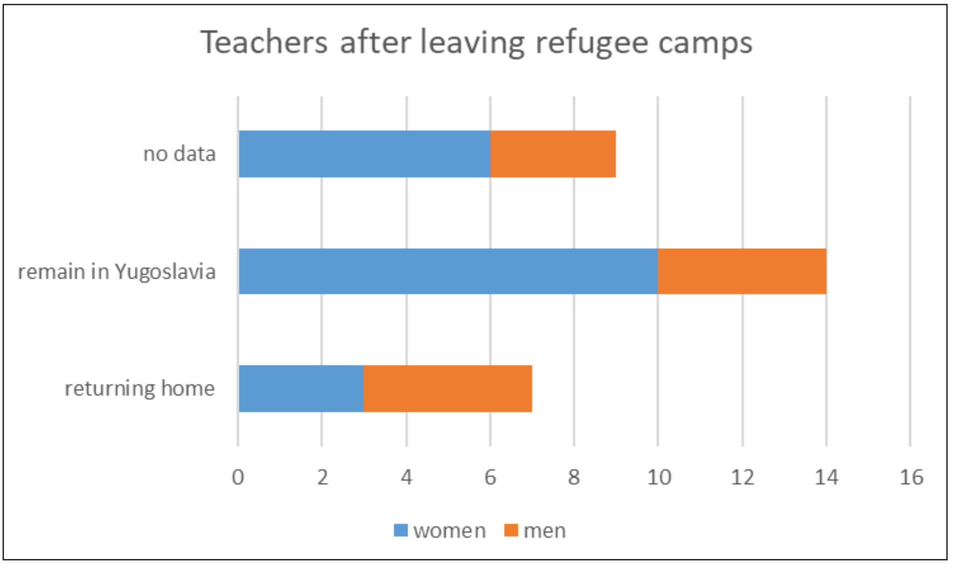
29 Almerigo Apollonio argues that the military authorities initially controlled mostly secondary-school teachers in Idrija and Pazin and facilitated the departure of non-native teaching staff and later began to control all teachers (Apollonio, 2001, 53). He mentions the bad influence of the anti-Italian stance of the political society Edinost and the general anti-Italian propaganda of Slovene and Croatian circles: "The leaders of Edinost fuelled suspicions of Italian high commands; consequently, even the most innocent gatherings of the local Slovene elite, Slavic teachers or mayors in Karst were understood as signs of anti-Italian resistance and conspiracy." (Apollonio, 2001, 77, 88). This interpretation is not confirmed by many cases, particularly not in the sphere of education.

30 *Učiteljski list*, II, 4, 16 February 1921: Iv. Slak, Okrajni šolski sveti, I.

31 ASTs, CCCTT, b. 12.

32 *Učiteljski list*, II, 7, 1 April 1921: Jože Rupnik, Obris zgodovine italijanskega šolstva, II; Zborovanje društva "Unione magistrale giuliana" v Trstu, IV.

Graph 1: Teachers after leaving refugee camps, data compiled from Lavrenčič Pahor, 1994.



to reappoint Yugoslav, i.e. Slovene and Croatian, teachers who were either interned or refugees; however, the authorities turned a deaf ear to their demands. (Kacin Wohinz, 1972, 234).

During the war a part of Slovene and Croatian teachers worked in refugee camps and many of them did not return the Julian March. According to the data compiled by Minka Lavrenčič Pahor, 30 teachers worked in refugee camps, 19 of whom were women and 11 men (Graph 1).[33]

The bulk of them stayed in Yugoslavia after the war, most often in Styria. Less than half the teachers working in the refugee camp at Strnišče pri Ptuju[34] returned to the Julian March after it was closed down in 1923. Particularly women teachers from the Gorizian region, where homes and schools were demolished, remained on Yugoslav soil. Many of them were sent to Prekmurje by the Yugoslav school authorities.[35]

---

33 The data provided by Minka Lavrenčič Pahor are not completely reliable; however, they are indicative in terms of the gender ratio. They allow us to understand the extent of dismissals, forced retirement or transfers, as well as various reasons for departures or emigrations with regard to gender. I would like to express my gratitude to Neža Trdin (the Eirene project) for having processed data statistically.

34 On the elementary, trade and lace-making school for refugees in Strnišče pri Ptuju cf. Prinčič, 2020, 52–55.

35 It can be gathered from lists of uprooted teachers that they emigrated to Yugoslavia from the area of Gorizia at first, later also from the area of Trieste and Istria (Graph 5).

Slightly more than half the teachers out of a total of 23 from the Littoral (5 of whom were women) who left for Carinthia to assist in the opening of Slovene schools in the years 1919/20 remained in Yugoslavia after the plebiscite on 10 October 1920 and Carinthia's integration into Austria. The remaining teachers returned to the Littoral.[36]

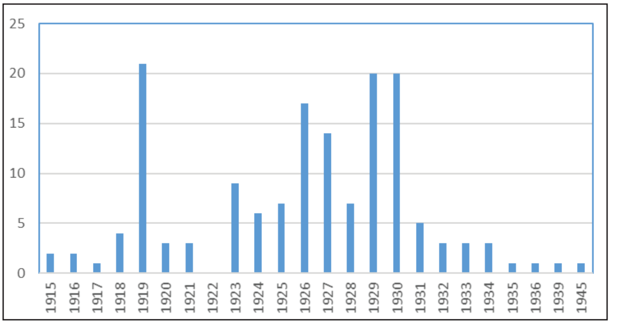
21 men and 18 women teachers emigrated to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes immediately after the arrival of the Italian authorities because they did not have the right of domicile. In the subsequent years they were followed by 144 Slovene and 82 Croatian teachers. The new school authorities made use of Austrian legislature that granted the right of domicile (*Heimatrecht, Indigénat, Pertinenza, Illetőség*) (Ganczer, 2017; Hametz, 2019)[37] to educators only after 10 years of teaching in a specific place in order to dismiss "politically" or nationally unreliable teachers who had relocated to the Austrian Littoral from Carniola and Croatia before the war.[38] Political reasons were often used as an argument to refuse applicants for Italian citizenship. Men (15) outnumbered women (7) among those who were denied employment because they were not granted Italian citizenship immediately after the war; the situation was similar in the period of fascism, with 92 men and 76 women having been dismissed. The authorities sought to reduce the number of Slovene educators also by means of early retirement. Taking into account a longer timespan, we see that men outnumbered women in terms of displacement in 1918 and 1919. After the introduction of the Gentile reform, which was enacted on 1 October 1923 and introduced Italian as the medium of instruction in Slovene schools as well, the number of women teachers who relocated to Yugoslavia from the Julian March increased.

36 Italian school authorities kept a watchful eye on Slovene teachers, former refugees, "because they engaged in political propaganda that was not in line with the state's interests and national reconciliation." (ASTs, CCCTT, b. 24, Signor Commissario civile: Corrispondenza personale. Riservatissime).

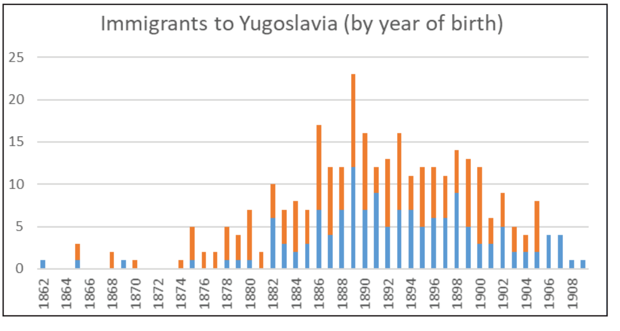
37 In early 1919 Governor Carlo Petitti di Roreto issued an order that allowed the return of people who had previously had the right of domicile in the (at that point) former Austrian Littoral, which was not the case with other immigrants even though they had lived and worked there for years before the war (Purini, 2013, 37). The principle of determining the citizenship on the basis of the right of domicile was included also in peace treaties of successor states of Austria-Hungary.

38 It is evident from individual reports that the military authorities compiled lists of unacceptable teachers or of those whom they considered unable of "becoming good Italians in the liberated territory" on the basis of their former activities. One of such lists included 15 educators, 10 of whom were women teachers working in the area of Postojna, 4 substitute women teachers and 3 natives of Ljubljana (ASTs, CCCTT, b. 7, Relazione Stato Maggiore sezione Politico Militare, 16 Februar 1919). In Tolmin, 4 people are believed to have acted to the detriment of Italy; an inn keeper, a dean, the parish priest and Ludmilla Mezzal, an unemployed teacher, a "propaganda element and almost a connective link or a *trait d'union* between specific families in the town." (ASTs, CCCTT, b. 25, Affari di polizia. Corrispondenza personale del Commissario).

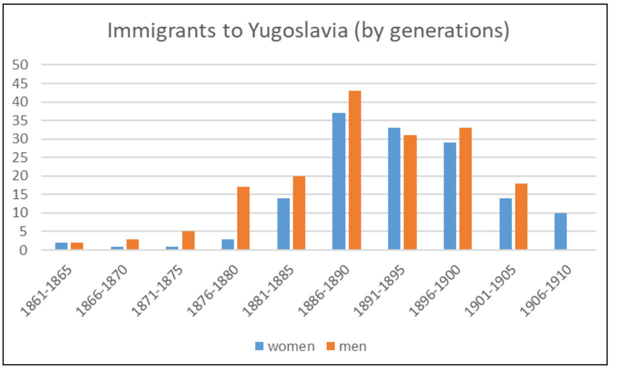
Graph 2: Female teachers: year of migration to Yugoslavia, data compiled from Lavrenčič Pahor, 1994.



Graph 3: Immigrants to Yugoslavia (by year of birth), data compiled from Lavrenčič Pahor, 1994.



Graph 4: Immigrants to Yugoslavia (by generations), data compiled from Lavrenčič Pahor, 1994.

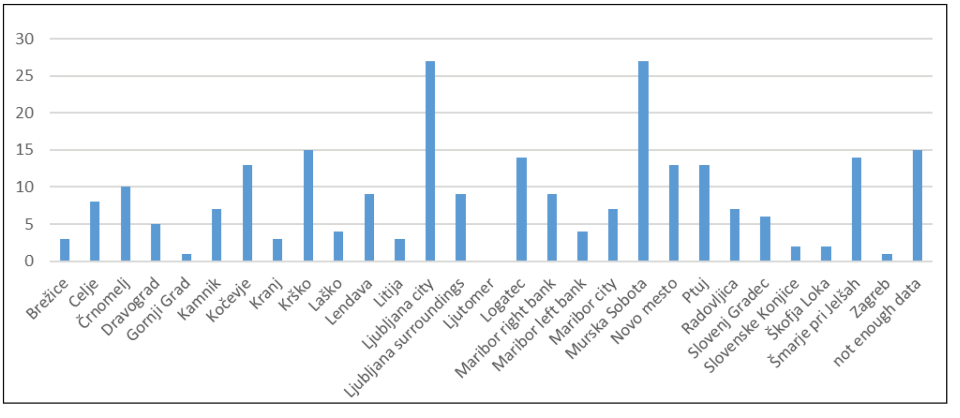


An analysis of departures of 174 men and 143 women teachers shows that their peaks coincided with the year 1919, i.e. with the introduction of the Italian school system and with the year 1929, when Slovene and Croatian were finally discontinued in all former Slovene and Croatian schools. The school in the worker's quarter of St. Giacomo (Sl. Sv. Jakob), the last private school with Slovene as the medium of instruction, was discontinued in September 1930 (Graph 2).

The authorities transferred an Italian school to the premises of the former Sts. Cyril and Methodius Society (Bajc, 2016). An analysis of the displaced educators' dates of birth indicates that it was particularly young teachers that left the Julian March. They belonged to the generation born in the years 1886–1890 and found employment and adjusted more easily to the new, Yugoslav environment (Graph 3, Graph 4).

The bulk of them were employed in and around Ljubljana, Murska Sobota, and Maribor. Slovene school authorities directed teachers from the Littoral to areas experiencing a shortage of educators or areas where a comprehensive Slovene school system was yet to be established after the dismissal and removal of German and Hungarian teachers (Graph 5).

Graph 5: Female teachers: by place of migration (srez), data compiled from Lavrenčič Pahor, 1994.



If we focus solely on Slovene teachers, for whom we have the most data, and disregard Croatian teachers, we see that they represented a significant share of the emigration current from the Julian March, which up to March 1919 included 30 to 40 thousand people (Purini, 2013, 53). Initially, their departure contributed to a radical weakening of the Slovene middle class and with increasing mass departures in the period of fascism in the 1930s also to the imminent eradication of Slovene intelligentsia in centres such as Trieste and Gorizia. In 1919 the society Edinost not only protested against the illegal removal of Slovene schooling and transfer of Slovene *gimnazija* to Ajdovščina and teachers' training

school to Tolmin, two remote towns, but also led a campaign against Slovene teachers who left voluntarily and refugee teachers who preferred remaining in the the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to returning home.

> *Let us speak frankly and clearly: nobody made them go, they left their jobs on their own, nobody prevented them from staying here. Ninety percent of those who emigrated across the armistice line left voluntarily and a mere ten percent or less had to cross it to avoid prosecution or were dismissed from their jobs by the administration with an order to leave the occupied area. They were employees in the service of politics and this is what happened to them; but who drove away judges and judicial clerks, employees of financial institutions and post offices, officials, who drove away teachers working in our and other schools, when it was only of 1 March of his year that the present administration halted their salaries, etc. Nobody!*[39]

The author of the article *Nazaj begunci, nazaj!* (Refugees, return!) maintained that, with Slovene teachers gone, Slovene children were taught by a *carabiniere* or a non commissioned officer in many places. As far as mass departures and "pointless emigration from the occupied territory" were concerned, he was explicit: Yugoslavia did not need all those who let down their own people in the occupied territory and did not find suitable accommodation in the new state.[40]

A similar view was also shared by the Office for the Occupied Territory in Ljubljana, where in the summer of 1920 they encouraged teachers repeatedly to return to the Littoral (Kacin Wohinz, 1972, 236). Slovene teachers did not respond to the invitation, also because they were under the impression of unpunished fascist actions directed against Slovene institutions. The escape of the intelligentsia from the Littoral was addressed also in the periodical *Učiteljski list,* which was critical of their emigration and argued that the intelligentsia "had no roots in the people. [...] Being intellectuals, teachers have an important role: to return to from where they tore themselves away or else they will be knocked over by the waves of development."[41] The introduction of the Gentile reform in the school year 1923/24, which stipulated that Italian was the medium of instruction in all Slovene schools and required habilitation for teaching Italian[42] considerably aggravated the situation. An increasing number of Slovene teachers were transferred forcibly to Italy's interior, particularly Lombardy, Emilia Romagna, Tuscany, Piedmont, and Umbria (Graph 6).

---

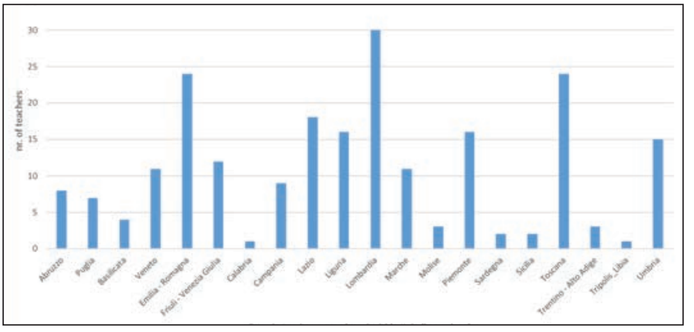
39 *Edinost,* 22 April 1920: Nazaj, begunci, nazaj!, 1.

40 *Edinost,* 22 April 1920: Nazaj, begunci, nazaj!, 1.

41 *Učiteljski list*, 1 January 1923: Dilema, 1.

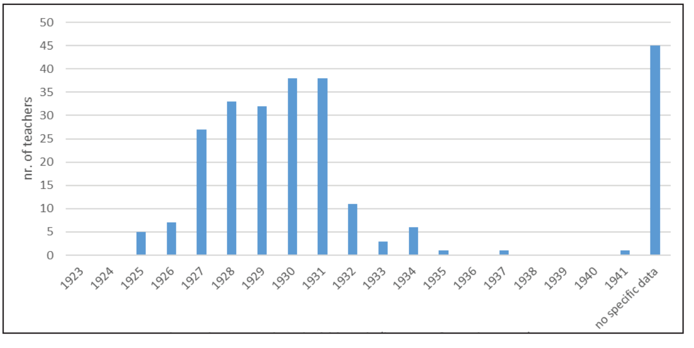
42 On the intellectual and political context of the Gentile reform, which was formed by intellectuals of idealistic provenance. Gentile argued that "the war awakened the nation's morality" and the question of school became a "great political and national question." Consequently, a radical reform was required, old Italy had to be defeated and a new one created, the feeling of unity and political discipline had to be maintained, which was at the core of national education that became a political ideal for permanent mobilization after the defeat at Kobarid (Tognon, 1990, 56–66).

Graph 6: Female teachers: reassigned within Italy (by region), data compiled from Lavrenčič Pahor, 1994.



As to women teachers, their transfers peaked in the years 1927 to 1931 as is seen from the Graph 7, which records their dismissal in Italy.[43]

Graph 7: Female teachers: reassigned within Italy (by year of reassignment), data compiled from Lavrenčič Pahor, 1994.



Amalija Čok was one of Slovene teachers who persisted in Trieste. After having begun teaching at the Slovene school at St. Giovanni (Sl. Sv. Ivan) in 1921, she was under permanent control of the Triestine questura. Carabinieri conducted frequent searches of her home, particularly after she became the secretary of the Teachers' Society. Her passport application was denied countless times, preventing her from visiting

43 The question of how Slovene teachers who accepted their transfers to Italy's interior adjusted to the fascist redefinition of a woman's role and how they experienced it is yet to be explored (De Grazia, 1992, 15).

her brother in Yugoslavia. Accompanied by two agents, she finally managed to cross the border in 1934. She was allowed to meet her brother in Maribor only in the presence of one of the agents. Following the removal of the Slovene headmaster Danilo Daneu from the school at St. Giovanni in 1924 and the appointment of an Italian headmaster, all Slovene classes were discontinued in 1927. Amalija Čok decided to stay in Trieste despite the closure of the Slovene school at St. Giovanni. She became an employee of the Slovene private school at St. Giacomo (Sl. Sv. Jakob), which operated in the scope of the School Society after the discontinuation of Sts. Cyril and Methodius schools. After its closure in 1930, she taught Slovene at home and was involved in the organization of secret Slovene courses in collaboration with Slovene women's and girls' circles.[44] In the 1930s she taught Slovene at the Galilei private school. She was arrested for teaching Slovene on 3 January 1940 and imprisoned in Monfalcone, where she spent 17 days in solitary confinement.[45] She was transferred to Trieste after six weeks, to the prison "at the Jesuits," where she was detained up to 15 January 1941.[46] Her arrest took place in the period of an extensive repressive campaign, which culminated in the 2nd Triestine process of the Special Tribunal for the Defense of the State (Verginella, 2008, 259–350). She was imprisoned for eight days as a precaution during Italy's attack of Yugoslavia in 1941. She held secret Slovene-language courses at her home in Longera (Sl. Lonjer). During the final year of the war she prepared Slovene children, who at the time attended Italian schools, for transfer to Slovene schools by agreement with the national liberation committee; consequently, she turned down Germans and the Home Guard that asked her to teach in their Slovene schools.[47] After the war she held evening lessons of Slovene for young people[48] and taught at the school at St. Giovanni up to her retirement in 1955. After the Allies restored a large part of the former Slovene school network in the areas of Trieste and Gorizia, individual Slovene teachers who had been dismissed by the fascist authorities returned to classes. Their number was very modest in comparison to that of women teachers who left for Yugoslavia or were transferred to Italy's interior. They were mostly natives of Trieste and Gorizia.

UČITELJSKI LIST AND THE WOMAN QUESTION

Učiteljski list, a journal of the Association of Slovene Teachers' Societies in Trieste, is an invaluable source for understanding the policy of hindering operation of Slovene teachers and modes of a gradual curtailment of Slovene

44 This includes activities modelled after those of the Gorizian Splošno žensko društvo (General Women's Association) that was on the basis of the statute entitled to encourage its members children to be involved in recreation and to seek to complement school lessons with teaching Slovene (OZE NŠK, Šolstvo, Ilegalno šolstvo pod fašistično Italijo, 3).

45 OZE NŠK, Šolstvo, 1, *Primorski dnevnik*, 10 May 1970: V usodi Amalije Čok faze trpke zgodovine slovenskega šolstva.

46 OZE NŠK, Šolstvo, 1, Poročilo Amalije Čok, 5 February 1946.

47 OZE NŠK, Šolstvo, 1, Čok A., Trieste, 4 June 1945.

48 OZE NŠK, Šolstvo, 1, Amalija Čok, Trieste, Sv. Ivan.

lessons and final removal of Slovene schools, as well as for exploring Slovene and Croatian responses to a gradual introduction of Italian school legislature. An analysis of this journal shows the organizing of Slovene and Croatian teachers, who strove to establish self-management and seek ways to diminish the consequences of the integration of Slovene and Croatian schools into the Italian school system. It should be mentioned that they sought contacts with Italian teachers, particularly those identifying with the socialist and – after 1921 – the communist party. The journal published political and literary treatises, which were mostly written by socialist writers who demonstrated tendencies to an international and cosmopolitan orientation and were thus favourably disposed towards collaborations with ideologically similar Italian teachers. Its regular reports about the most innovative didactic and pedagogical experiences from different parts of the world, e.g. the USA, UK, Czechoslovakia, the USSR, bear witness to the periodical's aspiration to transcend the local framework and limitations that were imposed by the new political and school authorities. Articles dedicated to the most avant-garde artistic trends, such as futurism, constructivism, zenitism confirm the aspirations of its editorial board and external associates, who distanced themselves from the canons of the bourgeois aesthetic and were favourably disposed towards revolutionary changes and achievements of the Soviet Union. The periodical's ideational and political profile is noted for its radical nature, particularly if compared to the journal of the Triestine teachers' association Unione magistrale triestina *Battaglie per la scuola*, which was first published in Trieste in 1920. This is evident also from the attention that *Učiteljski list* paid to the woman question.

Even though women teachers were not involved in the most important ideological debates,[49] namely editorial guidelines remained in the domain of men, it can be gathered from reports drawn up by commissions and sections of the Association of Slavic Teachers' Societies that their importance increased, which was confirmed by the growing number of their representatives. In June 1921 a woman delegate was elected alongside five male delegates by the Sežana district Teachers' Society. Women teachers had more delegates representing them in the Postojna Teachers' Society, where 4 representatives were women out of a total of 15 delegates. In Trieste 9 teachers were women out of a total of 26 representatives. The largest number of women representatives, i.e. a half, were elected at the assembly of the Tolmin Teachers' Society.[50] It is evident from individual reports that women's under-representation caused friction in elections to the association's

49 Two tendencies were present within the association, i.e. the "bourgeois" tendency, liberal and socialist, arguing that teachers cannot exist without basic political culture: "Socialism is no longer the domain of a single party, as it was before the war, it is in the domain of all parties." (*Učiteljski list*, 1 September 1921: Naše stališče, 1).

50 *Učiteljski list*, 16 July 1921: Zborovanje "tolminskega učiteljskega društva", III. In 1924 women outnumbered men in the ranks of delegates.

bodies and increasingly firm demands for equal representation.[51] The ratio of elected men to women in respective teachers' societies varies between one-third or one-quarter of all representatives; however, it grew on a yearly basis, which is particularly noticeable in 1926, when women outnumbered men in a few societies, e.g. in Idrija.[52] The reason should not be sought solely in women members' ardency but also in the fascist school policy, which was initially directed against the most active male teachers and only with a time delay against active women teachers, although the most active and pro-Yugoslav oriented women teachers were subject to strict control from as early as November 1918 onwards.

T. Kos joined the debate on women's representation at an assembly held in Gorizia in August 1922, when she raised the following questions: "Are women inferior? Are we excluded from taking action? Do we perhaps not contribute to the organization?"[53] The dissatisfaction among women teachers stemmed also from the fact that they were usually treasurers and did not have representatives in the association's committee:

> *Looking at this set of colleagues, I get happy because I feel as if the organization were afraid of electing women to the committee. Oh, we are probably not mature enough to be able to discuss organizational matters. 400 women members do not have a single woman representative. That is enough. For a woman colleague to sit at a desk where our activities and the operation of our societies are discussed would be too much for a woman's head. A new committee will be elected this year. Dear colleagues, allow us to become part of this committee because we want to have a say in the our fate and in that of the organization.*[54]

That an increasing number of women teachers were not willing to be silent is evident from discussions about the abolishment of women teachers' celibacy and from individual reports published in *Učiteljski list*. Their growing efforts were mentioned also by the editor of *Novi rod* Josip Ribičič, who was convinced that the most active women teachers, "our women", could produce their own journal modelled after *Slovenka*[55]: "There are enough literary educated colleagues among our women teachers, as well as those dealing with women's questions. In good hands a journal cannot fall into passivity. If not possible otherwise, it

51 *Učiteljski list*, 10 August 1922.

52 If we compare the data on women's presence in specific Slovene societies with that in Unione magistrale triestina, we see that women's presence in the years 1920–1921 was similar; in the subsequent years it was higher. Unione magistrale triestina was led solely by men, which was reflected in the periodical *Battaglie per la Scuola*, where subjects, such as women teachers' celibacy, were addressed by men (*Battaglie per la Scuola*, 1 June 1922: Per il diritto e la giustizia!, 3).

53 *Učiteljski list*, 10 August 1922: Delegacijsko zborovanje v Gorici, 177.

54 *Učiteljski list*, 1 July 1923: Naša organizacija in članice, 147.

55 *Slovenka*, the first Slovene women's periodical was published in Trieste from 1897 to 1903 (Verginella, 2017).

should be published under the auspices of the Association. 400 members equals 400 trustees and agitators."[56] The Association being confronted with the role of members of specific committees is evident also from the text entitled *Tovarišice so izpregovorile besede* (Women comrades have spoken), which brings up a woman teacher

> *as we have not been used to in the rank organization thus far. It happened at the assembly of the Idrija district Teachers' Society, during the discussion about the elections. The event is interesting and cannot be bypassed without addressing the role of women colleagues in the planning, operation and struggle of teachers' organization.* [...] *It is thus necessary that the greatest women of their time are harbingers of a movement that we see in European women's intellectual circles. Perhaps this effort is not completely crystallized because a woman intellectual is possible firstly and most easily in the ruling bourgeois circles, but it is thus not less true that the Manchester doctrine is hostile to women and the reason for their slavery.* [...] *If women teachers want to be truly liberated, not seemingly and externally equal and free in the so-called higher strata of the society, Ibsen's Nora will not serve as a model to them, it will be a proletarian woman, who does not sink in the bitterness of public life, who fights the suffering wholeheartedly and believes firmly in better, brighter days.*[57]

The presented ideal of a proletarian woman was in many respects far from values and goals set by the most emancipated women teachers, e.g. Pavla Hočevar, an educator and writer who published her texts in *Učiteljski list* and was one of the most important collaborators of *Ženski svet*, a periodical published in Trieste from 1923 onwards by the society Žensko dobrodelno udruženje.[58] However, it is true that this ideal was becoming increasingly more familiar in the image of a woman fighter who stands up to fascism and the violation of minority rights not only among politically active women teachers, but also among women students attending the Tolmin teachers' training school. On 10 January *Učiteljski list* published an unsigned article that said that a

56 *Učiteljski list*, 1 July 1922: Par misli za delegacijsko zborovanje, 148. The commentary was aimed at the women's periodical *Jadranka*, which was published in Trieste by Marica Gregorič Stepančič from 1921 to 1923.

57 *Učiteljski list*, 10 January 1922: Glas tovarišic, 9.

58 Pavla Hočevar (1889–1972) taught at the private school established by the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Society. She had to relocate to Ljubljana before its closure in 1930 due to her problems with Italian authorities. In her memoirs she wrote about her trips to Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Belgrade in the spring of 1919 to organize rallies in support of the demands voiced by Slovene Littoral women. In the Slovene capital, she sought support among the refugees from the Littoral and in the Office for the Occupied Area; in Zagreb, she appealed to the well-established author Zofka Kveder. Assisted by the Slovene politician and member of parliament Anton Korošec, she came into contact with the organization Kola srpskih sestara in Belgrade (Hočevar, 1969, 108–109).

woman teacher has a double role in the phase of the "decomposition of the society: to defend herself and lift, rebuild the next generation."[59] In the same issue we can see a long text about women's movement well; it was penned by a woman who highlights women's class belonging, but also the sisterhood of members of the bourgeoisie and proletariat. The former and the latter are disadvantaged in terms of dignity and equality. The author's concluding theses are exceptional in their radicalness, particularly if compared to other treatises penned by men and women: "Women's movement is in this extent nothing but operating with ideas. Nowadays violence prevails, which must be fought with violence."[60]

This thinking stated the dramatic nature of the period and the necessity to find radical solutions, wherefore it deviated from the principles of operation formulated by Žensko dobrodelno udruženje. In the first issue of its journal *Ženski svet,* which was published in January 1923, this society brought up the harmfulness of exaggerated competitiveness with men, the necessity of women's charitable work and activities against debauchery, light-mindedness, and misery which the war left behind. Antonija Slavik,[61] one of the initiators of Žensko dobrodelno udruženje, is known to have played a key role in the formation of these principles. Her bourgeois outlook deviated from the socialist and feminist stance of young women teachers and students. In terms of content, she was closer to her Italian fellow citizens, with whom she collaborated in the Red Cross during the war. She believed that Slovene women activists ought to establish a "legal form of assistance — let us found a charitable organization! Fascists might allow that!" (Hočevar, 1969, 121).

The fascisation of the society, the Italianization of schools and closure of Slovene and Croatian schools radicalized the youngest woman teachers, who were subject to systematical dismissals, disciplining, and threats. "Turbulent times have arrived, a time of searching and analyses, a twilight of everything that is philistine, a time of troublesome blows and hardships is here. This is to be expected. No matter is more pressing, as if we would want to lead a patriarchal life in accordance with provisions and official regulations stipulated by law in times such as these."[62] However, their ranks witnessed a turn towards the defence of the national and towards tradition, as did the most radical intellectual and artistic circles in the Littoral.

59 *Učiteljski list*, 10 January 1924: O poklicu učiteljice, 9.

60 *Učiteljski list*, 10 January 1924: Nekaj misli o ženskem gibanju, 12.

61 Antonija Lavrenčič (1868–1938) graduated from the teachers' training school in Gorizia. She was actively involved in the Slovene cultural life in Trieste and wrote for *Edinost*. She was a member of the women's branch of Sts. Cyril and Methodius Society, the Red Cross, and of the Widows' and Orphans' Organization. On her activity during the war cf. Hočevar, 1969, 96.

62 *Učiteljski list,* 15 December 1925: Ob koncu leta, 185.

A commentary expressed by the painter Avgust Černigoj,[63] which was published in *Učiteljski list* on the occasion of the art exhibition in the Triestine Giordano pubblico (Sl. Ljudski vrt), and his polemic with the bourgeois canons is telling: "We need impulsive and destructive work, we need to build something new in order to show who we really are. [...] We have to show the world that there is also a Slavic peasant, from whom the new culture, i. e. the new fine arts, can be expected."[64]

The need to resort to the people and evaluate vernacular culture alleviates the feminist tones and opens the space for evaluating the traditional role of women, who will be able, so to speak, "to regenerate mankind with their gentle knowledge."[65] It is not insignificant that this and similar thoughts appeared in *Učiteljski list* only a few months before it was banned, which was not prevented even by the publication of a report from the Fifth Congress of the Fascist Istrian Province. This report suggests that teachers in the Julian March had to become "the spire of Italian piercing into non-native masses. [...] Teachers thus have to feel fascism, regardless of whether they have a membership card or not."[66] The period of searching for cohabitation, adjustments and pacts of Slovene teachers with the new school authorities came to an end; this period brought about also greater susceptibility for women's emancipation and political activities of women teachers.

IN LIEU OF A CONCLUSION

The year 1918 was followed by a several-year-long transition period in the sphere of education in the Julian March, which was marked by the establishment of new national and political priorities in education. Attempting to adjust to the new circumstances and to defy Italianization, the Slovene minority school system introduced new forms of self-organization and intensive political activities. It was particularly Slovene women teachers who intensified their professional and public operation in the transition period also because the post-war period was favourably disposed towards young teachers due to mass migrations of the Slovene and Croatian middle class. Being cut away from Ljubljana, the cultural and political centre, and aversion to the new state and its nationalist politics contributed to searching for foreign models and to the susceptibility to radical trains of thought, also in terms of the

63 Avgust Černigoj, (1898–1985) joined constructivism as a painter and sculptor and was influenced by Bauhaus. From October 1920 to September 1922 he taught art at the Postojna *gimnazija.* He passed the exam for secondary-school teachers of drawing in Bologna (1922). As an illustrator he collaborated with the Triestine periodical *Novi rod*. He left for Munich in the autumn of 1922, where he initially took classes at the academy and then at an art and trade school.

64 *Učiteljski list*, 1 June 1926: Umetniška razstava v Trstu, 87.

65 *Učiteljski list*, 15 July 1926: Sebi, 105.

66 *Učiteljski list*, 1 July 1926: Mrachovo poročilo o šolstvu, 101.

woman question. Following the removal of Slovene schools and expedited fascistization of the society, the ranks of Slovene teachers deviated from emancipatory tendencies, moving towards conservatism and evaluation of women's traditional role, which was in the Italian environment noticeable already in the early 20s.

UČITELJICE V VRTINCU POVOJNIH SPREMEMB V JULIJSKI KRAJINI (1918–1926)

Marta VERGINELLA
Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: marta.verginella@ff.uni-lj.si

POVZETEK

Članek obravnava spremembe, ki so se dogajale na področju šolstva v Julijski krajini, odnos novih političnih oblasti do šolstva in učnega kadra glede na spol. Na osnovi tiska in arhivskega gradiva analizira politiko italijanskih šolskih oblasti in odzivanje slovenskega in hrvaškega učiteljstva na postopno zapiranje manjšinskih šol, s posebno pozornostjo na položaj in delovanje slovenskih učiteljic in njihov odnos do ženskega vprašanja. Na prehodu iz 19. v 20. stoletje so ženske prevzele čedalje pomembnejšo vlogo v šolstvu v številnih evropskih državah. Od 70. let 19. stoletja so se tudi lahko vpisovale na učiteljišča, ki so od 80. let dalje postala prave varilnice izobraženih deklet, še posebej v tistih državah, kjer je osnovno šolstvo postalo obvezno. Dekletom iz vrst srednjega sloja so dajale možnost pridobitve srednje izobrazbe in večkrat tudi poklicne osamosvojitve. V Italiji in Avstro-Ogrski, podobno kot drugod po Evropi, se je učiteljski poklic močno feminiziral zlasti na prehodu iz 19. v 20. stoletje. Ob koncu prve svetovne vonje je bilo število učiteljic močno v porastu, a njihovo članstvo v stanovskih organizacijah se ni odražalo v večji odločevalni moči. Na področju šolstva v Julijski krajini je bilo tranzicijsko obdobje po letu 1918 zaznamovano z vzpostavitvijo novih šolskih nacionalnih in političnih prioritet. Manjšinsko šolstvo, tako slovensko kot hrvaštvo, v poskusu prilagajanja novim razmeram in kljubovanja, uvaja oblike samoorganizacije in intenzivnega političnega delovanja. Še posebej slovenske učiteljice okrepijo svoje poklicno delovanje in javno delovanje. Povojni čas je tudi zaradi množičnih odhodov slovenskega in hrvaškega srednjega sloja v Kraljevini SHS naklonjen mlajšemu učiteljstvu. Odrezanost od kulturnega in političnega centra, to je Ljubljane, in nenaklonjenost italijanski državi in njeni nacionalistični politiki, je prispevala k iskanju tujih vzorov in dovzetnosti za radikalne miselne tokove, tudi v zvezi z ženskim vprašanjem. Po ukinitvi slovenskih in hrvaških šol in pospešeni fašizacije družbe pa se tudi v slovenskih učiteljskih vrstah zgodi premik od emancipacionističnih teženj h konservatizmu in ovrednotenju tradicionalne vloge žensk, ki je viden v italijanski družbi že na začetku dvajsetih let.

Ključne besede: učiteljice, Julijska krajina, tranzicija, žensko vprašanje, antifašizem

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andri, A. & G. Mellinato (1994): Scuola e confine. Le istituzioni educative della Venezia Giulia 1915–1945. Trieste, Istituto regionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia.

Appolonio, A. (2001): Dagli Asburgo a Mussolini, 1918–1922. Gorizia, Libreria Editrice Goriziana.

ASTs, CCCTT – Archivio di Stato di Trieste (ASTs), Commissariato civile per la città di Trieste e Territorio (1919–1922) (CCCTT).

ASTs, ONAIR – ASTs, Opera Nazionale Assistenza all'Italia Redenta (ONAIR).

ASTs, PAST – ASTs, Provveditorato agli studi di Trieste (PAST).

Bajc, G. (2016): Brisanje sledi in moč pozabe. O šoli Bergamas v slovenski stavbi na Montecchijevi ulici. Primorski dnevnik (1 May), 13.

Bajc, G. (2018): Interments after the First World War. The case of women in the Northern Adriatic, 1918–1920. Acta Histriae, 26, 4, 1017–1040.

Barbagli, M. (1974): Disoccupazione intellettuale e sistema scolastico in Italia. Bologna, Il Mulino.

Barbalič, F. (1918): Pučke škole u Istri: statistički prikaz prema stanju neposredno pred početkom svjetskog rata. Pulj, Jos. Krmpotića.

Battaglie per la Scuola. Trieste. Unione magistrale triestina, 1918–1822.

Brevi Cenni (1921): Brevi Cenni sull'azione spiegata dal Governo italiano nella Venezia Giulia dalla data dell'armistizio al Novembre 1920. Trieste, [s.n.].

Cottone, C. (1938): Storia della Scuola in Istria: da Augusto a Mussolini. Capodistria, Scuola Tip. Edit. V. Focardi.

Čermelj, L. (1974): Sloveni e Croati in Italia tra le due guerre. Trieste, Editoriale Stampa Triestina.

Debelli Turk, L. (1980): Učitelji na šentjakobskih Ciril-Metodovih šolah. In: Debelli Turk, L. (ed.): Sv. Jakob. Zgodovinski razgledi po življenju Slovencev v tržaškem delavskem okraju. Trst, Založništvo tržaškega tiska, 92–136.

De Fort, E. (1981): L'associazionismo degli insegnanti elementari dall'età giolittiana al fascismo. Movimento operaio e socialista, 4, 375–404.

De Grazia, V. (1992): How Fascism Ruled Women. Italy, 1922–1945. Berkeley, Los Angelos, Oxford, University of California Press.

Dessardo, A. (2015): Scuole al limite. L'istruzione primaria in lingua italiana in Alto Adige e nell'Istria interna, 1918–1922. Qualestoria, 43, 1 (Grande guerra e scuola), 75–98.

Dessardo, A. (2018): Lo spirito nazionale nella scuola. Lettere dalla Venezia Giulia a Giuseppe Lombardo Radice. Trieste, Edizioni Meudon.

Downs, L. L. (2018): "The Most Moderate Italianization?" Social Action and Nationalist Politics in the North-Eastern Adriatic Borderlands (1919–1954). Acta Histriae, 26, 4, 1087–1102.

Edinost. Trst, 1876–1928.

Engelbrecht, H. (1986): Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens: Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs. Band 4: Von 1848 bis zum Ende der Monarchie. Vienna, Österreichischer Bundesverlag.

Ganczer, M. (2017): The Effects of the Differences between the Austrian and the Hungarian Regulation of the Rights of Citizenship in a Commune (Heimatrecht, Indigénat, Pertinenza, Illetőség) on the Nationality of the Successor States of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Journal on European History of Law, 8, 2, 100–107.

Hametz, M. (2019): Statelessness in Italy: The Post-World War I Citizenship Commission in Trieste, Contemporanea, 22, 1, 79–96.

Handrahan, L. (2004): Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. Security Dialogue, 35, 4, 2004, 429–445.

Hojan, T. (1998): Slovenske učiteljice ob koncu 19. stoletja. Šolska kronika, 7, 31, 132–142.

Horne, J. (2005): "Kulturelle Demobilmachung 1919–1939: Ein sinnvoller historischer Begriff?". In: Hardtwig, W. (ed): Politische Kulturgeschichte der Zwischenkriegszeit 1919–1939. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 129–150.

Kacin Wohinz, M. (1972): Primorski Slovenci pod italijansko zasedbo, 1918–1921. Maribor, Obzorja.

Gobatto, E. (2012): Le donne de "L'Italia Redenta". L'Opera Nazionale Assistenza Italia Redenta negli anni 1918–1938. In: Vinci, A. M. (ed.): Carità pubblica, assistenza sociale e politiche di welfare: il caso di Trieste. Trieste, EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste, 63–86.

Hočevar, P. (1969): Pot se vije, spomini. Trst, Založništvo tržaškega tiska v Trstu.

I maestri (1922): I maestri delle Vecchie Province nella Venezia Giulia: quadro della loro situazione tratteggiato da un gruppo di meastri e pubblicato sotto gli auspici della Federazione. Trieste, Federazione Magistrale Giuliana.

La scuola al confine. Trieste. Bollettino del R. Provveditorato agli studi per la Venezia Giulia. 1924–26.

Lavrenčič Pahor, M. (1994): Primorski učitelji 1914–1941. Prispevek k proučevanju zgodovine slovenskega šolstva na Primorskem. Trst, Narodna in študijska knjižnica, Odsek za zgodovino.

Milharčič Hladnik, M. (1995): Šolstvo in Učiteljice na Slovenskem, Ljubljana, Sophia.

OZE NŠK, Šolstvo – Odsek za zgodovino in etnografijo Narodne in študijske knjižnice, Trst (OZE NŠK), Šolstvo.

Pillon, L. (2005): La sezione italiana dell'Istituto magistrale femminile di Gorizia. In: Tul, V. (ed.): Učiteljice v šolskih klopeh: Zbornik ob 130. obletnici ustanovitve Slovenskega učiteljišča za dekleta v Gorici. Nova gorica, Pokrajinski arhiv, 139–160.

Prinčič, V. (2020): Sternthal zadnja postaja. 1918–1922, Trnova pot povratka goriških beguncev. Trst, Iz domačega panja, Založništvo Tržaškega Tiska.

Purini, P. (2013): Metamorfosi etniche. I cambiamenti di popolazione a Trieste, Gorizia, Fiume e in Istria. 1914–1975. Udine, Kappa Vu.

Rolandi, F. (2020): Un trionfo mai richiesto? Partecipazione politica femminile e rappresentazioni di genere nella stampa locale di Fiume e Sušak dopo la Grande guerra. Italia contemporanea, 293, 73–98.

Sharp, I. & M. Stibbe (2011): Aftermaths of War: Women‘s Movements and Female Activists, 1918–1923. Leiden, Boston, Brill.

Sistoli Paoli, N. (2009): Gemma Harasim. L'impegno educativo. Antalogia di scritti su cultura, scuola, famiglia. Roma, Aracne.

Sofri, A. (2019): Il martire fascista. Palermo, Sellerio Editore Palermo.

Soldani, S. (1993): Nascita della maestra elementare. In: Soldani, S. & G. Turi (eds): Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea. Bologna, Il Mulino, 67–130.

Tognon, G. (1990): Benedetto Croce alla Minerva. La politica scolastica italiana tra Caporetto e la marcia su Roma. Brescia, La scuola.

Tul, V. (2005): Slovensko izobraževališče za učiteljice v Gorici. In: Tul, V. (ed.): Učiteljice v šolskih klopeh: Zbornik ob 130. obletnici ustanovitve Slovenskega učiteljišča za dekleta v Gorici. Nova gorica, Pokrajinski arhiv, 111–137.

Učiteljski list. Trst, 1920–1926.

Vašte, I. (1964): Podobe iz mojega življenja. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Verginella, M. (2008): Drugi tržaški proces. In: Kacin Wohinz, M. & M. Verginella: Primorski upor fašizmu 1920–1941. Ljubljana, Slovenska matica, 259–350.

Verginella, M. (ed.) (2017): Slovenka: prvi ženski časopis 1897–1902. Ljubljana, Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, Beletrina.

Visintin, A. (1991): Disagio militare e attivismo rivoluzionario nel primo dopoguerra giuliano. 1919–1920. Ronchi dei Legionari, Centro Culturale Pubblico Polivalente.

Received: 2021-10-01 DOI 10.19233/AH.2021.35

THE EXCLUDED AMONGST THE EXCLUDED? TRST/TRIESTE AND (SLOVENE) SERVANTS AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Petra TESTEN KOREN
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: petra.testen@ff.uni-lj.si

Ana CERGOL PARADIŽ
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: ana.cergol@ff.uni-lj.si

ABSTRACT

By taking into account census data, contemporary periodicals, archival material and oral sources, the article addresses the question of how the status and work possibilities of (Slovene) female servants in Trieste changed after the WWI with the newly established border between Italy and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. It examines the persistence and permutations of their migratory routes and analyses how servants who continued to work in Trieste after the war had to deal with the Italianisation process and which organisational networks supported them. It also analyses how Slovene servants, born in places that after the war remained outside Italy, negotiated their citizenship.

Keywords: servants, Trieste, post-war transition, gender history, census, migrations, citizenship

LE ESCLUSE TRA LE ESCLUSE? TRST/TRIESTE E LE DOMESTICHE (SLOVENE) DOPO LA PRIMA GUERRA MONDIALE

SINTESI

Prendendo in considerazione i dati dei censimenti, i periodici contemporanei, le fonti archivistiche e orali, l'articolo affronta la questione di come lo status e le possibilità di lavoro delle serve (slovene) a Trieste cambiarono dopo la Prima guerra mondiale con il nuovo confine tra l'Italia e il Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni. Esamina la persistenza e le permutazioni dei loro percorsi migratori e analizza come le domestiche rimaste a lavorare a Trieste dopo la guerra dovettero affrontare il processo di italianizzazione e quali reti organizzative le sostenevano. Inoltre, analizza come le domestiche slovene nate nei luoghi che dopo la guerra rimasero fuori dall'Italia negoziavano la propria cittadinanza.

Parole chiave: domestiche, Trieste, transizione postbellica, storia di genere, censimento, migrazioni, cittadinanza

INTRODUCTION[1]

Several studies have already given attention to the notion of invisibility, exclusion and marginalization of domestic workers over time and in different geographical locations. The invisibility derives from the fact that paid domestic labor has been feminized and situated on a crossroads between the public and private sphere (Verginella, 2006; 2021; Summers, 1998), bridging "the divide between a reproductive occupation and one performed for economic gain" (Cox, 1997, 62; Boris & Fish, 2015). It has been seen as "non--work" because it has replaced the unpaid work of family members. As such, it has been usually excluded from the public and political discourse about workers' rights and even not properly addressed by the working movement (Nederveen Meerkerk, Neunsinger & Hoerder, 2015), despite the fact that servants in the past constituted as much as 10–20% of the working population (Fauve Chamoux, 2004, 2; cf. also Summers, 1998, 354–355).

From the US to Italy and from France to the Habsburg Empire, urban domestic workers also experienced marginalization because they had often migrated from the neighboring countryside or even from more distant locales. Dirk Hoerder points out how the servants were perceived as "'Others' of different class, of a different rural or proletarian way of life, of 'alien' ethno-cultural background" (Hoerder, 2015, 74). As foreigners, they were usually excluded from the benefits of local welfare or caritative organizations. The concept of "foreignness" is, as Sylvia Hahn pointed out when dealing with female migrants in the Habsburg Empire, a variable construct that changes according to the political, economic, and social situation. Being a foreigner was strongly dependent upon the social status and gender related factors. "Above all, single women were the targets of reproach, rejection and mistrust by the locals" (Hahn, 2001, 122).

For single women of foreign origin and therefore also for many servants, the period after the First World War brought important changes in terms of their invisibility, exclusion and marginalization. Several researchers have shown that in the period of any kind of social transitions, women in general are often confronted with a distinct, more accentuated marginalization and exclusion from various social spheres, such as the political, economic and cultural domains (Cockburn, 2004; Sharp & Stibbe, 2011; Björkdahl, 2012). On the other hand, transitional periods also provide women with some possibilities for (simpler) inclusion and empowerment instead of just exclusion. This is because they are – especially in tumultuous times but also otherwise – not subject to such strict control due to their allegedly unpolitical posture compared to men. It is therefore possible to observe an "inclusion-exclusion paradox"[2] when dealing with them in post-war transitions.

After taking into consideration post-war modes of exclusion and inclusion, the article addresses the baseline question of how the status and work possibilities of (Slovene) female servants in Trieste changed after the First World War with the fall of the Habsburg Empire

1 This article was first elaborated upon within the EIRENE project (full title: Post-war transitions in gendered perspective: the case of the North-Eastern Adriatic Region), founded by the European Research Council under Horizon 2020 financed Advanced Grant funding scheme [ERC Grant Agreement n. 742683].

2 https://project-eirene.eu/about/objectives/.

and the newly established border between Italy and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of SCS), later Yugoslavia. In order to answer this question, a sample of quantitative demographic data from the population census of 1910 was collected and compared to those of 1921 and 1931.[3] 172 house numbers from Trieste's predominantly rich district Borgo Teresiano were analyzed together with clues from contemporary periodicals[4] and archival material all combined with oral sources (transgenerational memory). An overview of the broader context of the status, employment and changed migration routes of Slovenian servants in the aforementioned period was also taken into account.

PREWAR VISBILITY

Servants in the Trieste area represented a politically important population category before the war. In this regard, Trieste differs from various other locales (Sarti, 2015, 31). Taken from certain angles, say in terms of the media spotlight, servants were anything but excluded or "invisible". This specific situation derives from the fact that the town saw a large influx of Mostly female Slovene servants from the Austrian Littoral (Istria and particularly the Goriška – Gradiška region) in the period before the First World War, i.e., from the so-called surrounding labor pool, as well as from other nearby territories of the Austrian crown lands where Slovenes constituted the majority of the population (Styria, Carinthia, and, first and foremost, Carniola). Additionally, servants also came from the neighbouring Italy, particularly from Friuli. The swiftly increasing number of Slovene servants in the city attracted the interest of Slovene nationalists, who – as representatives of the largest national minority – sought to assert their interests in the face of the Italian majority. It was this majority who exercised control over city authorities. Meanwhile, Slovene nationalists in the city had gained economic and cultural power and a rising political voice, especially since the 1880s.

The potential of the large group of Slovene servants became evident particularly in the period of population censuses (especially that of 1910), when Slovene nationalists' extensive propaganda activities directed at servants aimed to get them to express their loyalty to the nation by identifying Slovene as their language of communication in the census sheets. Thus they sought to prevent Slovene servants from succumbing to assimilation effects of living and working in Italian families. The maintenance of their national loyalty and purity was saw as especially important also because, as several scholars suggest, women were imagined as "cultural and biological reproducers of the nations" and as such they were imagined as "boundary markers" (Cergol Paradiž & Testen Koren, 2021b; Verginella, 2006). Italian nationalists, on the other hand, made efforts to retain national loyalty and protect interests of Italian

3 AGT, Censimento della popolazione, Trieste 1910, b. 24–27, 30–31; Censimento della popolazione, Trieste 1921, b. 41–42, 44–48, 52–53; Censimento della popolazione, Trieste 1931, b. 211, 213, 215, 217, 223–224, 237, 239, 243, 246, 249, 252, 255, 259, 263, 269, 270, 272, 277, 283, 286, 291, 293, 298, 303–307, 313–315.

4 The following periodicals were reviewed: *Il Piccolo, Il Popolo di Trieste, Soča, Gorica, L'Indipendente, Il Lavoratore*, *Slovenec, Slovenka*, *Domoljub*, *Edinost*, *Jutro*, *Gospodinjska pomočnica*, *Koroški Slovenec*, *Mladika, Ženski svet, Straža, Socialna misel, Mariborski večernik, Jadranka, Slovenska žena etc.*

servants. Especially those from the Kingdom of Italy, who often did not hold Austrian citizenship and were along with other migrants from the same country granted a special status by the city, the so-called *regnicoli*. Both, the Italians and the Slovenes tried to get the servants on their side by establishing special organisations for their protection and even by encouraging them to be organised in trade unions.[5] However, the question of how successful this political organization/endeavour actually was on either national end remains. Servants choices, to some extent, show a different practice than expected by both Slovene and Italian elites. In this sense, according to Marta Verginella, they did not acted only as "boundary markers" like the nationalist propaganda wanted them to but more as "cross-boundary mediators".[6] Here thus emerge, as Elise von Nederveen Meerkerk pointed out, all those "ambiguities of working and living in the households of others, where distance and intimacy were intrisically entagled" (Nederveen Meerkerk, 2015, 250).

TRST/TRIESTE'S POST-WAR REALITY

Until 1921, when census data of all inhabitants (including servants) in Trieste was collected again, the general situation for the Slovene population had changed dramatically. After the First World War and the disintegration of the Habsburg Empire, the whole Austrian Littoral and part of Carniola went under Italian military administration and was renamed to Venezia Giulia (Julian March). Many from Slovene community hoped that the Italian occupation would only be temporary. However, the Peace Treaty of Rapallo, signed on November 12, 1920 determined the border between the Kingdom of Italy and the Kingdom of SCS definitively, thus allocating the Julian March (Trieste included) to Italy.

The population census in 1921 came just a few months after the (nowadays) symbolic act of nationalist repression, when Italian Fascists burned down the Narodni dom (National Hall) on July 13, 1920, a building that then served as a center for Slovenes and also other Slavic communities in Trieste (Vinci, 1997, 226; Klabjan & Bajc, 2021). The Fascists had already occupied key political positions in the country after 1922. By the decade of the 1930s, when the third census of those chosen to serve here as a source for analysis took place, they had already implemented an intense denationalization policy against Slovenes, in Istria Croats. The so-called *fascismo di confine* or *fascismo di frontiera* in practice included political, economic and cultural guidelines and measures to secure the

5 Apart from the Zavod sv. Nikolaja (Institution of St. Nicholas, est. 1898) – the first Slovene female charity organization, with a focus on taking care of out of work servants – support was also granted by the National Labor Organization. Education and servant gatherings took place in the spaces of the Narodni dom (National Hall). Emphasis must also be put on the wide-ranging church organizational network that, along with the school sisters' assistance, primarily took care of the girls' wellbeing who had come into town to work as servants. The Italians attempted to organize in a similar manner, mostly with the intention of boycotting Slovene servants. However, they failed to match their Slovene counterparts' success either on an organizational level or in their effectiveness (cf. Cergol Paradiž & Testen Koren, 2021b).

6 https://project-eirene.eu/about/objectives/; Verginella, 2006.

eastern border of the Italian state. It brought about a national and social transformation of the border area with political repression, persecution and impediment to the social rise of the "second-class population" (Kacin Wohinz & Verginella, 2008, 35; Apollonio, 2004; Cattaruzza, 2007; Purini, 2010; Vinci, 1997).

All these post-war changes raise questions about how the accentuated national struggles in Julian March affected servants. Did the newly established border and new political reality disrupt their migration routes and redirect them to other locations? Or did the economic forces that motivated Slovene servants to migrate and Italian employers to hire overcome political obstacles, so that this occupational category, unlike others such as teachers and civil servants, remained to some extent unaffected? In order to at least answer these questions to a certain degree and to establish the changes occurring in the structure of housekeeping in Trieste, we compared the population censuses of 1910, 1921 and 1931. 172 house numbers in Trieste's predominantly rich Borgo Teresiano district were analyzed; we used the same anagraphic numbers in the register of residents for all three years, each year corresponding to one census.

The first major difference when comparing the census data from 1910 and 1921 – before and after the war – is already visible in terms of the absolute number of servants in the sample and therefore presumably also generally in the city of Trieste. In 1910, the previously mentioned 172 house numbers included 1,437 households, 555 of which employed servants (38,6%). In 1921, 444 out of a total of 1,846 households had servants (24%). This initial comparison demonstrates that in the first post-war period, the number of live-in servants in Trieste decreased somewhat.[7]

The problem of the decreased supply of housework in Trieste after the First World War was also addressed by the local press. In the period of 1919–1920, the Italian paper *Il Piccolo* regularly published work ads from the newly founded Ufficio comunale per la mediazione del lavoro (Municipal office for the mediation of labour) (*Il Piccolo*, 3. 12. 1919, 3). The demand for servants always exceeded the numbers of potential employees and the *Il Piccolo* stressed, that there was an "absolute reluctance in young girls to provide services to families" (*Il Piccolo*, 3. 12. 1919, 3). At the time, this phenomenon was identified as an immediate effect of the war. The periodical *Edinost,* for instance, stated that women "had gotten accustomed to better occupations" during wartime and that they were deterred from working as servants also because they "received war-related benefits" (*Edinost*, 9. 3. 1919, 3).

The decline in the number of servants in Trieste can be seen in the context of a general trend that has swept Europe since the turn of the century. In fact, in most Western European countries, the greatest increase in the number of maids took place in the 1880s, followed by a decline. Behind this so-called servant crisis/problem (crise de la domesticite (Fr.); crisi delle domestiche (Ita.); Dienstbotenfrage (Ger.), etc.), there were many causes, notably the extension of compulsory education and, with it, literacy, the stigmatisation of servant work, the possibility of working in industry, etc. (Sarti, 2015).

7 This is also evident if all servants in the sample are taken into account (as some of the households had more than one servants). Their number decreased from 754 in 1910 to 494 in 1921.

The following years and especially the time of the economic crisis (late 1920s and 1930s) severely narrowed the employment opportunities for men and women both in Italy (and Trieste) and elsewhere in Europe (globally). Many women therefore again turned to occupations more traditional and therefore more accessible to them in order to survive and provide for their families. One such occupation was servanthood. It is all the more interesting that despite these changes, the percentage of households with servants in Trieste decreased further (to 17%) by 1931, when the census was re-conducted. The further decline in the share of servants could also be related to the (economic-political) status of the city itself and the changed migration routes of a certain segment of the female population, which is discussed in more detail in the chapter below.

On the other hand, some characteristics of the occupational group of servants did not change significantly after the First World War. The migration pattern dubbed "life-cycle--servanthood", which covered young women in a relatively short period before marriage, was still prevalent among them. The percentage of unmarried servants in the analyzed sample decreased only slightly: from 95% in 1910 to 94% in 1921 and then to 93% in 1931, while servants' average age increased only slightly, growing from 28 in 1910 to 30,6 in 1921 and to 31 in 1931.[8]

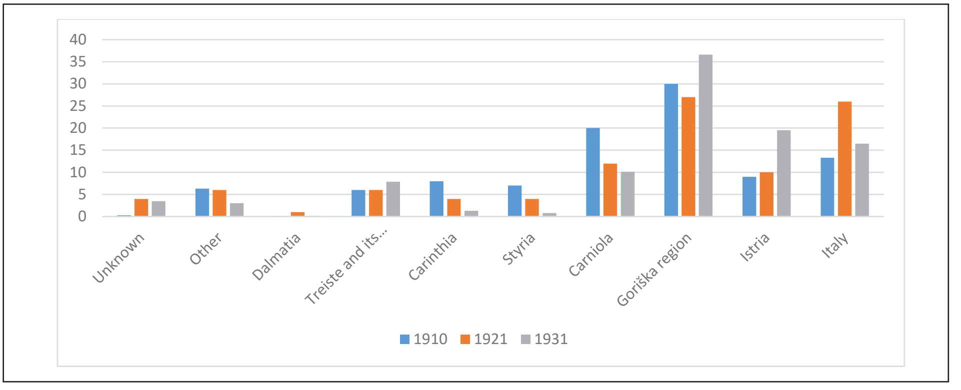
While the war and post-war situation did not considerably diminish the importance of "life-cycle servanthood" in Trieste, another significant change was in terms of servants' place of birth (Graph 1). Compared to 1910, 1921 saw an increase of servants born in areas that were part of Italy already before the war, namely from 13,30% to 26%. The share of servants born in Istria is somewhat larger – from 9% to 10%. The number of servants born in the former Goriška – Gradiška region is lower, from 30% to 27%. However, it was the share of servants born in (former) Carniola (from 20% to 12%), Styria (from 7% to 4%), and Carinthia (from 8% to 4%) that decreased the most.

By 1931, the expected share of servants from former Carniola, Carinthia and Styria was further reduced, while the share of those from the Goriška – Gradiška region was on the increase. Compared to 1921, the number of immigrants from the "old" Italian provinces was also on the decline.

These changes in numerical ratios again reflect the general effects of the war and, above all, the post-war situation and political changes. Until 1921, when the first post-war census was carried out, various segments of the population that had left the city during the war were gradually returning to Trieste at different speeds and through minor or major obstacles. Among those were former soldiers, prisoners of war and also civilians who had survived the war in exile. Although the military conflicts during the war did not affect Trieste directly, the severe shortages forced many to move elsewhere, usually inland in the Habsburg Empire. Former Italian citizens, the so-called *regnicoli*, also escaped, while others were interned. Especially after the opening of the Isonzo Front, many fled to Italy (Cecotti, 2001).

8 A slight increase from 2% (1910) to 3% (1921) and to 2% (1931) in the case of married and from 2% (1910) to 4% (1921) and then again to 4% (1931) in case of widowed servants.

Graph 1: Trieste's servants by place of birth in the censuses of 1910, 1921 and 1931 (in %) (AGT, Censimento della popolazione, Trieste 1910, b. 24–27, 30–31; Censimento della popolazione, Trieste 1921, b. 41–42, 44–48, 52–53; Censimento della popolazione, Trieste 1931, b. 211, 213, 215, 217, 223–224, 237, 239, 243, 246, 249, 252, 255, 259, 263, 269, 270, 272, 277, 283, 286, 291, 293, 298, 303–307, 313–315).



The measures taken by the Italian authorities in connection with the post-war return of the population – in addition to the reduced influx of population from former Austrian Crown lands, especially Carniola, now cut off by the border – explain why the ratios in Graph 1 turned in favor of servants born in the "old" Italian provinces. After the war, the Italian authorities were more effective in organizing the return of those refugees who had survived the war in Italy than those who in inland Austria-Hungary. Furthermore, as early as the beginning of 1919, the governor of Trieste and the Julian March, Carlo Petitti di Roreto (from November 3, 1918 to 1919), issued an order stating only residents who had previously enjoyed the so-called *Heimatsrecht*, *Pertinenza* in the (now former) Austrian Littoral could return. This did not apply to other immigrants, even though they had lived and worked there for many years before the war.

According to Slovene historiography, the aforementioned Pettiti's order and the related measures that clearly hindered the return of people of Slovene ethnic origin can be seen as "the first episode of ethnic cleansing directed at Slavic minorities in the Julian March" (Purini, 2010, 37). Such measures intensified in the following years and did not only affect the more politically exposed representatives of the Slovene minority in Trieste (priests, teachers, politicians, lawyers and other intellectuals), but also servants.[9]

The Italian authorities in Trieste began to encourage the immigration of Italian servants immediately after the war and deliberately sought to restrict the immigration of Slovene and German servants. On February 22, 1919 the Civil Commissioner of Trieste and the Territory wrote to prefectures of the Kingdom of Italy that Italian refugees who had worked as *regnicole*

9 Various decrees applied directly to Slovene as well as German servants, the latter being significantly fewer in number.

in Trieste before the war had to be given absolute priority over servants of other nationalities, i.e., "non-Italian elements". In his opinion this would be politically appropriate because the "Italian national element" would thus reclaim "the old line of work" in Trieste. The already mentioned governor of Trieste and Julian March Petitti di Roreto replied that he would do everything in his power to replace Slovene and German servants with Italians.[10]

This appeal voiced by the Civil Commissioner in February 1919 evoked a strong response. Many documents demonstrate how it was implemented in practice. For example, a telegram dated March 13, 1919 includes a notice addressed to the Civil Commissioner that six Triestine women refugees, former servants, were sent from the Prefecture of Caserta to Trieste. At the same time six families, about 22 people, 14 of whom were women working as cooks, chambermaids or servants, were sent from the town of Maddaloni in the same prefecture.[11] Moreover it is to point out a letter sent on March 17, 1919 by the Civil Commissioner to the president of the Comitato Triestino per il collocamento delle domestiche italiane (Council for Recruitment of Italian Women Servants) Amalia Musner, an important figure of the Triestine interwar charitable activities, informing her of all of the numerous servants who were on their way to Trieste.[12] As attested by these documents, the back and forth between the Civil Commissioner and other agents striving to bring or reintroduce the "Italian national elements" into the structure of servants in Trieste, was quite vibrant.

Not only the authorities but also certain employers intervened in favor of the Italian servants – the *regnicoli* – in cooperation with like-minded individuals and minor organizations. In a letter dating already to December 9, 1918, the employer Dott. Silvio Vianello writes how he wants his former servants, Adele and Luigia de Rosa, who had worked for him before the war and were forced to leave due to them being *regnicoli,* to resume working for him.[13]

There are also some documents that show how the immigration of foreign women, especially those from Carniola and Styria (who were prevalently Slovenes, in some cases Germans), was actively obstructed. One of many instances of granted refusals is that of Teresa Röttl from Styria, who was denied her residence permit on the grounds that foreign servants occupied posts belonging to "local elements". The document dated October 31, 1919 was signed by the Civil Commissioner.[14] Nevertheless, in this particular case, a favorable opinion was issued by the General Civil Commissioner the following day, but the pattern of exclusion of Slovene or German servants remained.[15]

10 ASTs, CCCTT, b. 1.
11 ASTs, CCCTT, b. 1.
12 ASTs, CCCTT, b. 1.
13 ASTs, RCGC Gab., b. 58. Permessi per venire nella Venezia Giulia. Passaggi linea Armistizio. Contrabbando. Relazioni con Alleati. Varie.
14 ASTs, RCGC Gab., b. 58. Permessi per venire nella Venezia Giulia. Passaggi linea Armistizio. Contrabbando. Relazioni con Alleati. Varie.
15 The General Civil Commissioner is documented to have been uninclined towards the immigration and employment of non-Italian servants in Trieste; his rejection raises several questions. Is it possible to view such actions in the light of international affairs, alongside peace conferences? After all, this was a period where the borders between Italy and the Kingdom of SCS were not set in stone and Italy, along with the conduct of its authorities in the border provinces, was under the scrutiny of various commissions as well as the international community (cf. Apollonio, 2001; Mosconi, 1924).

These measures and private initiatives, together with the change of the border and state frameworks, thus divided the migration routes of the former (at least in the eyes of the national elite) homogeneous group of Slovenian servants in Trieste. They created distinctive demographic profiles as well as different legal statuses and, last but not least, ways of including and excluding women. Slovenian servants have since experienced different fates. While mainly those from the nearby Slovenian immigration basin came and were still coming to Trieste despite the changed political situation (1), others redirected their migration routes (2). Last but not least, we must not forget the group of servants who remained in the city since before war time, despite the fact that they originated from those former Austrian Crown lands that belonged to Yugoslavia later on (3). These three different groups are discussed below.

THOSE WHO CAME, AND CONTINUED TO COME

Trieste

During the interwar period, the Slovene newspapers repeatedly emphasized that "there were a large number of Slovenian servants in Trieste" (*Jutro*, 4. 8. 1926, 5). It is a fact that the migration pathways from both the nearby but also more distant Slovenian basin surrounding Trieste into the city proper remained open the entire time, despite the economic hardships and the political tendencies favoring the Italian servants. It is difficult to estimate the exact number of Slovene servants in Trieste and its change given the available resources and, last but not least, the fluidity of national identity. The preserved census sheets from 1921 do not contain data on the language of communication as the pre-war censuses did. The published data provides only the cumulative number of the Slovene-speaking population and does not indicate its distribution according to occupation. At the same time, it should not be overlooked that when counting the population in 1921, numerous pressures on the Slovene-speaking population were observed, creating additional doubts about the credibility of the data on nationality. Daily newspapers such as *Edinost* continued to observe irregularities much like before the war. This includes deliberately incorrect entries of the language of communication in the (this time separate) forms, which were filled in together with the census sheet with or without the knowledge of the registered families in question. Extortion and threats of firings also cropped up. In short, increasingly uncompromising pressures were applied. But unlike in the case of the previous census, neither the authorities nor the national elites dealt with servants. This is one of the reasons why Slovene servants, who – as the paper states – before the war had stood out in the public campaign in favor of the Slovene language and within community due to their large numbers in the city, now became invisible. They had receded from the agendas of intellectual elites who, due to their own problems with the new rulers, had not been able to deal with servants and their problems. Nevertheless, Slovene servants experienced the fate of their more politically exposed compatriots at least to some extent, according to various indications.

Both the articles in the newspaper media at the time and oral testimonies show that – despite the stereotype of hard-working and subordinate Slovene servants, which still worked in favor of their employment – relations worsened in the families where the girls served due to the general political climate, which incited national hatred. Many Slovene servants had to endure insults at the expense of the supposed cultural inferiority of their nation. As Bogdan Kravanja attests, his grandmother Ana Cuder (1913–1999) from Trenta in the Soča Valley, who worked as a servant in Trieste between 1929 and 1942, as well as all her colleagues, were all addressed with the derogatory term "sciava", "sciavetta", "Slovana" by their mistresses. The latter treated them as cheap, inferior Slavic labor (Kravanja, 2019).

Such national tensions are also evidenced by the public discourse of the time. The local Italian nationalist press, for example, stepped up the derogatory rhetoric it had used before the war. The newspapers *Il Piccolo, L'Indipendente* and also the newly established fascist newspaper *Il Popolo di Trieste* wrote about Slovenian servants as "mentally inferior creatures," "mental slaves without human dignity," etc. They complained about their presence in the city and offered space in the paper to employers who would not tolerate the young women they hired socializing in the Slovenian community. Thus raved an angry employer on page one of the *Il Popolo di Trieste*:

> *Egregio sig. Direttore Assidio lettore del 'Popolo di Trieste', leggo spesse volte delle corrispondenze provenienti da paeselli dell'Istria, riguardanti propagande slave, fatte cosi sempre da preti e nascoste sotto varie apparentemente innoque. Qual meraviglia per me nel sentire dalla viva voce della mia ragazza di servizio, una slava, come purtroppo quasi tutte quelle a disposizione qui a Trieste, che nel cuore della nostra città stessa, e precisamente in Via Risorta, esiste un circolo di trattamenti prettamente slavi, diretto da un prete slavo. Quivi ogni domenica o festa di tutto l'anno. So danno dei festini più o meno religiosi dove naturalmente tutti parlano o recitano in slavo quasi fossimo in un qualunque paesello del nostro Carso. Anche la reclame per questo circoletto, per non dire propaganda, viene fatta da foglietti scritti a mano in lingua slava e muniti da firme o timbri che rivelano facilmente l'origine* […]. *A parte altre considerazioni che qui non e il caso di fare, la cosa non deve più essere tollerata, non bisogna dimenticare gli sforzi che fa il Governo Nazionale per riportare i paeselli slavi della nostra regione alle loro origini latini, o che le stesse ragazze ricevono ormai l'educazione italiana nelle scuole di casa l'oro. Purtroppo quanto espongo più sopra fa parte di un problema che non dovrebbe esser più oltre trascurato. Ogni anno vengono convoglite, io direi quasi artificialmente, a Trieste, diverse migliaia di serve slave, che in un lontano domani, in grandissima parte formeranno a loro volta famiglia. Queste famiglie, dati i precedenti, non potranno certamente essere italiane. A mio modo di vedere bisognerebbe convogliare queste ragazze in altre città della Penisola, possibilmente lontano dalla Venezia Giulia, dove senza difficolta potrebbero trovare lavoro, data loro gran dote di faticone conosciute, e nello stesso tempo lontane d'ogni*

propaganda diverrebbero in breve ora delle brave ragazze italiane. Già prima della guerra, qui da noi si era studiato il problema, e in certa maniera risolto. Si faceva venire il più possibile ragazze dal Trentino, dalla Carnia oppure dal Friuli, cercando di tener più lontano possibile le ragazze slave.[16]

The quoted passage illuminates the complex reality which Slovenian servants in Trieste were involved in after the First World War. In the words of the outraged employer, one could recognize the growing fear caused in Italian nationalists by the constant immigration of these mostly young, reproductively capable foreign girls. The solutions to this important migration problem in the eyes of the fascists have also been disclosed in the form of the need for planned relocation to the interior of the Kingdom of Italy, addressed below. The quoted passage also sheds light on the importance (Slovenian) church structures held for the servants in the absence of other institutional forms of nationally-focused socializing and association.

At that time, the Catholic Church developed mechanisms for the integration and control of migrant woman workers, thus – and this was for the religious authorities especially important – preventing their moral slip into prostitution and human trafficking. Its individual organizational initiatives took care of social life and also brought a certain amount of social security, which was lacking on the part of the state due to the absence of appropriate legislative and social structures at the time. Already in the Kingdom of Italy itself, one may find several others initiatives intended for the protection of servants similar to the Slovenian example. For instance, German-speaking Tyrolean women were offered a similar organizational network by German organizations led by nuns in northern Italian cities during the fascist regime (Lüfter, Verdofer & Wallnörfer, 2006). Local church associations and the press similarly monitored the migrations of Friuli women. As Ermacora explains, church organizations in Friuli (similarly to those in the Trieste countryside) had an ambivalent attitude towards women's migration, quite like the fascist regime. By leaving the countryside, women eluded surveillance and they also influenced the customs and mentality when they returned to their original environment.[17] The subversion of societal virtues inevitably brought about by modernization, together with the economic crisis that put women in the position of breadwinner, irresistibly overturned the previously established and controlled hierarchies of sexuality, society, and family. Migrations were therefore initially strictly controlled and restricted by the state, moreover in confessional circles they had a morally negative connotation. Yet both state and church migration policies had changed in the face of the mass unemployment that began in the

16 *Il Popolo di Trieste*, 28. 2. 1928. Cf. also: *Jutro*, 2. 3. 1928: Proti slovenskim služkinjam, 9.

17 While the church showed a negative attitude towards fascist leisure practices that were in conflict with religious ideals and the loss of control over believers, both regimes were close in their views on population decline, anti-urbanism, women's morality, and some aspects of the struggle against the "ill effects" of migratory movements. They both tried to establish a new, more stable society – and in the woman and the family, or rather through control over them, they saw the possibility of maintaining traditional Catholic society on the one hand and realizing the project of a new fascist state on the other (cf. Ermacora, 2010, 106–108).

late 1920s and intensified in the 1930s, accompanied by the issue of security, public order and peace. The church then turned to the promotion of controlled emigration and to the revalorization of this "painful but necessary phenomenon" (Ermacora, 2010, 94). Thus, it also adopted a more protective approach towards migrant women. Emigrating workers – servants – were watched over by women's orders, St. Mary's Societies, and special organizations such as Opera di Protezione della Giovane (Action for the Protection of the Girls) from Udine. Even more often, individual priests from their places of origin guaranteed their "moral well-being", and also connected them with suitable employers in distant cities (Ermacora, 2010, 103–105).

Back to Trieste; excerpts from the newspapers at the time and public controversies also show how important the confessional environment was for Slovene servants. These sources present Slovene religious worship in the center of the city as if it had been tailor made for them. When, in May 1921, the diocese of Trieste ordered the abolishment of Slovene liturgy during rites at the old St. Anthony's in Trieste, an appeal was made in *Edinost*:

> *Dear Sir Bishop! On Sundays, the Slovenian servant does work for the family all morning. In order to be able to go to church, she has to skip hours of precious sleep. How would you expect one walk to the new St. Anthony's, especially a servant who serves in the vicinity of St. Andrew or St. Justin, etc.? Are you not aware that these poor souls had to leave the old St. Anthony's immediately after mass in order to be available to their mistresses after 7:30? Do you not know that these girls are on the clock not just based on the hour, but also by the minute? And there are not just a few of these girls; there is one in each household. And yet we do not want to think that, according to Your views, the soul of a servant is less valuable in front of God than the soul of the President of the Italian P. P., as one might surmise from your new decree.*[18]

The words uttered in 1923 by Bishop Bartolomassi also show how closely the Italian national imagination identified Slovene religious individuals in the city center with the Slovene servants. In 1923, a delegation of Trieste Slovenes appeared in front of him due to the persecution of the Slovene language from the parish church of St. Anthony, as seen, undoubtedly an important center of Slovene confessional activity in the city. They were led by the lawyer and also delegate of the Italian parliament dr. Josip Vilfan. According to *Edinost* writes Bartolomassi used the occasion to explain that the secular authorities would have banned the use of Slovene language in any case. At the same time, he claimed that due to the knowledge of Italian among the Slovenes of Trieste, there was no real need for sermons in the Slovene language because the servants, these "military Minnies" who supposedly "spread filth across the city" and regularly met up with soldiers, spoke very good Italian (*Edinost*, 23. 1. 1923, 2).[19] The Slovene reaction, including that of the

18 *Edinost*, 1. 5. 1921: Preganjanje slovenskega jezika v Cerkvi, 2.

19 *Edinost*, 21. 1. 1923: Vedno lepše, 3; *Jutro*, 21. 1. 1923: Odmev: Cerkvena politika napram Slovencem v Trstu, Domače vesti, 3.

servants who offered their testimonials in the newspapers, was sharp, especially since they were themselves practicing Catholics and part of the church community where they had traditionally sought moral refuge.[20]

Although Bishop Bartolomassi was involved in this awkward state of affairs and was inclined towards Italian nationalism, he did not accept the violence of fascist squadrons. Due to his clear condemnation of fascist crimes against the Slovene and Italian population in the Julian March, he was forced to resign from the diocese of Trieste;[21] in December 1922, he was transferred as bishop to Pinerola near Turin (Piedmont). He was succeeded by Bishop Fogar, who also followed the Holy See's guidelines for the use of the Slovene language but firmly believed that the persecution of Slovene priests would harm the Church and Italy in the long run, as it would only deter Slovene believers (and citizens) from the Church (and the state). Even worse, it would lead them into the blasphemous wing of Yugoslav communism or Serbian Orthodoxy. Thus, Bishop Fogar continued with the hitherto established church practice, and with his *modus operandi* at the same time managed to slow down the Italianization of the Slovene confessional space (Apollonio, 2004; Pelikan, 2012).

It is the relative linguistic and confessional security that Slovene believers still had in Trieste under the auspices of Bishop Bartolomasi and his successor Fogar, along with the aforementioned importance of the support of the church network, that partly explains why the local Marijina družba (St. Mary's Society) still stood up for Slovenian servants. Other secular Slovene organizations – including the Zavod sv. Nikolaja (St. Nicholas Institution), which did not recover organizationally after the First World War – no longer existed. In 1936, *Slovenec* described Marijina družba as "the only and the largest Slovene church organization in Trieste."

The organization, originally called the Marija Milostljiva za žene in dekleta (St. Mary the Merciful for Women and Girls Society), henceforth the Marijina družba for short, was founded in 1899. In its early years, the members helped the servants by participating in the Zavod sv. Nikolaja, but then, due to ideological disagreements, they set up a separate initiative for sick and unemployed servants. The Zavod sv. Cite (St. Zita Institution), which was rechristened as the Zavod sv. Marte (St. Martha Institution) in 1911, thus existed within the framework of the Marijina družba. Meanwhile, in 1909, members bought their property – Marijin dom (St. Mary's House) – on Risorta Street 3, which is mentioned in the above quote from the newspaper *Il Popolo di Trieste*. After the First World War, the number of members initially decreased on the grounds of many girls from Carniola, Styria and Carinthia going home based on the new political situation. After 1920, however, numbers began to rise again. In 1924, they also founded the cooperative titled Ekonomska oskrbovalnica Zavoda sv. Marte za službujoča dekleta (The Institute of St. Martha's Economic Outpost for Young Girls), which helped organize courses in cooking, sewing, ironing, etc. In 1928, the society had 271 regular and 258 itinerant members. According to the memoirs of the Society: "In the initial years of fascism, the

20 *Edinost*, 21. 1. 1923: Vedno lepše, 3.

21 For more about the role of the Church in national battles cf. Valdevit, 1979; Pelikan, 2012, etc.

members clung even more to Marijin dom, where they felt at home. Here they could still speak, sing and find entertainment in their own language. Elsewhere, this was proving more and more perilous." However, in 1930 "fascism was applying more and more pressure. Individual girls distanced themselves from the group in order to have peace of mind with their employers." Marijina družba "lived in constant fear that Marijin dom would be taken away or destroyed. Several times, Italians told an Italian family in one of the neighboring houses to move away because they were going to burn down Marijin dom. These good people in turn informed the Society" (Prešeren, 1975, 49). The fascists did indeed end up prohibiting socializing in Marijin dom on May 10, 1936. During fall, after the departure of "prefect Tiengo, a terrible persecutor of Slovenes," (Prešeren, 1975, 65)[22] socializing was allowed once again. In such uncertain circumstances the spiritual (and actual) care for the servants was provided by the school sisters. As one of the few active Slovenian organizations in Trieste, the Marijina družba survived the fascist regime and the war period.

The fact that the Marijina družba was still able to function in these extremely unfavorable conditions, cannot be only explained by the aforementioned strategic attitude of the bishops of Trieste towards worship in Slovene language. The perseverance of the society's operations stems at least in part from the invisibility of this professional segment of the population, as emphasized in the introduction of this paper. Servants could be described as the "excluded among the excluded"; firstly, they were excluded due to their gender, and secondly, also due to the specificities of their occupation. However, it was exactly this invisibility, the marginal position, that enabled them to express their national affiliation in certain limited circles (perhaps even publicly?). They were among the few with this ability, thus fitting into the core of the "inclusion-exclusion paradox", as marginality within the social and political space enabled them to be included in a field within which other prominent representatives of the Slovene community no longer had the opportunity to operate.

Meanwhile, the possibilities of reviving secular initiatives for the organization of Slovene servants in Trieste remained significantly more limited.[23] However, the need for organizing beyond political constraints remained. This is also evidenced in views "from the outside", from the Kingdom of SCS, as published by *Jutro* in 1927: "Slovenian servants in Trieste need shelter. Home. They lack a place of entertainment suitable for Slovenes, so they loiter and dance around. Only a well-designed organization can keep [them] going. Who will take the reins? In this respect, things used to be settled a while ago." (*Jutro*, 12. 1. 1927, 7) This mention of a well-organized organization refers to the Zavod sv. Nikolaja, in the context of which the post-war efforts of the main initiator and selfless leader of the Institution, Marija Manfreda Skrinjar (1857–1931), must not be

22 Carlo Tiengo, Prefect, governor of the Province of Trieste, from January 16, 1933 to August 1, 1936.
23 By the end of the 1920s, the border fascist regime had succeeded in banning the use of the Slovene language in public and in Italianizing local names. They demanded the replacement of Slovenian teachers and priests with Italian ones. In 1927, all associations were abolished, and in 1928, Slovene political parties, periodicals and cooperatives, which held great importance for the countryside, were banned.

ignored.[24] She strove to sensitize a broader circle of people and restore the care network for servants. However, these attempts unfortunately died down quickly. Above all due to the lack of support mostly from various sister organizations (who were nonetheless ideologically competitive and existed under the auspices of the Church) and even from the Slovene elites, who themselves had to face increasingly greater pressures from the Italian side. Last but not least, obstruction by the Italian city authorities was also present. Skrinjar's post-war story illustrates the narrowing of the possibilities of (secular) action for the benefit of Slovene servants in an increasingly repressive border environment. Skrinjar remained a loyal representative of the poorest and most marginalized women, among them mostly Slovene servants, even though this took more shape in words in the daily newspapers following the war than deeds. She welcomed the publication of *Jadranka* in Trieste (1921–1923), at that time the only Slovene women's paper in the Julian March.[25] She recommended it should be read widely as the "paper of the nationally downtrodden and politically neglected", meaning not merely by the educated "Yugoslavian female population of the Julian March. […] It should be read especially by the servants living here among us!"[26] She saw the Slovene servants in Trieste as the last, silent bastion of what was once the "largest Slovene city", one she could not and was not allowed to help anymore. In the early 1930s, Marija Skrinjar retreated from the public and lived in Križ near Tomaj in the Karst region. She continued to speak out to the last in *Gospodinjska pomočnica* (Ljubljana, 1931–1940) and participated in the establishment of a network of organizations who took care of servants/domestic workers in the Kingdom of SCS (later Yugoslavia). She warned them of organizational pitfalls and unnecessary, harmful ideological stress in their profession, which, in her own experience, had brought the women only ill.[27]

Back in Trieste, a series of Italian secular initiatives sprang up after 1918 at least partly dedicated to the servants. In most of these, Amalia Musner (named above)[28] was involved as president of the Trieste section of the Consiglio Nazionale donne Italiane – C.N.D.I.

---

24 Marija Skrinjar née Manfreda, was a national aspirant, publicist and initiator of women's activities in Trieste. She worked primarily in favor of the most vulnerable groups in society. On her initiative and with the support of Fran Podgornik, the editor and publisher of the Slavic Council, *Slovenka* (1897–1902), the first Slovene women's newspaper, came to prominence. Before the war, Skrinjar published mainly in *Slovenka*, then after the First World War in *Jadranka*, *Slovenska žena*, *Ženski svet* and *Gospodinjska pomočnica* (cf. Verginella, 2007, 72–74; Verginella, 2017, 6–7, 68, 90).

25 *Jadranka* followed the *Slovenka* (1896–1902) in becoming the second Slovenian women's paper, succeeded yet again by Ženski *svet* (1923–1941). The latter moved to Ljubljana in 1929.

26 *Jadranka*, 2, 1922, no. 2: Marija Skrinjar, Našemu ženstvu, 13.

27 *Gospodinjska pomočnica*, I, 9–10, 1931/1932: Pismo pijonirke za našo stvar, 104–106; II, 11, 1932: M. Skrinjar, Nekdaj in sedaj, 121–122. Cf. also: *Gospodinjska pomočnica*, X, 1, 1940: Franja Petrič, Zakaj – komu v korist – sejejo prepir?, 2–3.

28 Even before the war, Amalia Musner was at the forefront of many social initiatives with a distinctly irredentist note, which led to her falling out of favor with the Austrian authorities who accused her of "playing at politics under the pretext of charity". Due to her irredentist activities, she was interned in Linz and Vienna during the war. After the war, she continued her social endeavors in many areas, which is why in 1934 she was awarded the *Medagla d'oro di prima classe coferitale del min. dell'ed, naz*. (*Il Piccolo*: Il Piccolo delle ore diciotto: Le ultime notizie: 22. 3. 1934, Ad una benemerita gentildonna, 2).

(National Council of Italian Women).[29] The Trieste section was formed immediately after the First World War and soon gained 550 members. Among other charitable activities, it organized the Ricreatorio per le donne lavoratrici (Ricreatorio) as early as 1920, a kind of afternoon meeting place for female workers and servants (*Il Popolo di Trieste*, 25. 1. 1921, 4). As *Il Piccolo* wrote a few years later on, the Ricreatorio's purpose was certainly not only entertainment in the form of games, recitals, music, etc. but also that of "Italian education." To this end, *alloglottes*[30] were also accepted at the Ricreatorio. The Ricreatorio shut down after three years of active operation due to the unsuitability of the premises. In 1924, the Trieste section of the C.N.D.I. called for its revival and at the same time proposed the organization of other forms of help, some directed at servants. Above all, they pointed out the need to establish a "women's shelter". They explained as follows: "Quante e quante si presentano al nostro ufficio ragazze sole al mondo, che richiedono lavoro, perché prive di alloggio e di mezzi. La citta […] non dispone di alcun ricovero femminile a prezzi modici, eccetto, doloroso a constatarsi, L'Internationalles Heim [International Home], retto dai tedeschi, e L'alloggio del Sacro Cuore [Shelter of Sacred Heart], retto dai sloveni."[31] The success of the German and Slovenian women's shelters thus proved to be a source of unease for Italian women of charity in Trieste.

The C.N.D.I. failed at establishing the above mentioned house for (young) women (allogio) in the following years, nor could they reestablish their own meeting place. When they disbanded in 1931, they transferred their activities to the Fascio Femminile (Female Fascio),[32] much like many other women's organizations at the time. The care for immigrant servants or women workers on the Italian side of the city was probably actively taken over by Catholic organizations, such as the already mentioned Opera di Protezione della Giovane, which also had its section in Trieste.

THOSE WHO WENT IN OTHER DIRECTIONS

Towns in North Italy

Trieste remained in the interwar period a center for the migration of Slovene servants from the former Gorizia-Gradiška, the Julian-Venetian mountainous region and its immediate hinterland. Regardless, it eventually lost its absolute primacy in absorbing female labor. As early as 1926, *Edinost* firmly stated that "before the war, the main migration current of our servants went to Trieste and Alexandria. Now, especially the girls from the hills, where most of our servants came from, no longer turn to Trieste." Instead, they "began to settle [...] in the upper Italy," especially "in Milan, which is filled to the brims with them."[33]

29 C.N.D.I. is still operational (see: https://www.cndi.it/).

30 *Alloglottes* were Italian citizens of non-Italian national origin; in Julian March Slovenes or Croats.

31 *Il Piccolo della sera*, 11. 3. 1924: Per un ricovero femminile, 2.

32 *Il Piccolo: edizione del mattino*, 4. 12. 1931: Tutte le attivita passate al Fascio Femminile, 3.

33 *Edinost*, 7. 10. 1926: Naše služkinje, 2; also *Jutro*, 9. 10. 1926, 7, etc.

Contemporaries attributed the oversaturation of the Trieste market to the reasons behind the partial redirection of the flow of Slovene servants to other larger cities in the "old Italian provinces".[34] In the period between the two wars, the population of Trieste continued to grow due to immigration. For example, in 1931, 7,080 people immigrated there, 3,464 of which were women (*Jutro*, 7. 2. 1931, 9). Yet the once leading Austrian seaport began to stagnate economically after joining the Kingdom of Italy, a country with many naval ports. It also grappled with the loss of its hinterland, an area it shared a long-standing connection with (Purini, 2010). As has already been pointed out, the demand for servants did not decrease after the war. Still, over time, less favorable economic conditions at least indirectly led to declining incomes and, consequently, poorer working conditions for them. Simultaneously with the change of the state border, the path towards the economically prosperous northern Italian industrial centers, was wide open. Slovene girls therefore started to migrate there and were employed *en masse* as servants. Many smaller and economically less prosperous places in South Tyrol suffered a similar fate as the Trieste and Gorizia countryside at that time (Lüfter, Verdofer & Wallnörfer, 2006). German-speaking servants moved from there to northern Italian cities after the annexation to Italy. Another similar example are servants from the mountainous areas of Friuli in the Julian-Venetian region (Ermacora, 2010). Especially in the 1930s, the migration of girls and young people in general from rural areas of Friuli to larger urban centers proved to be essential in resolving the rural crisis, where the mass unemployment of men contributed to the impoverishment of the population. The "migration boom" of mostly servants (including girls employed in service and trade), as Ermacora describes the emigration wave from Friuli between 1931 and 1939,[35] was a true "mass phenomenon" (Ermacora, 2010, 101; Sarti, 2001; Kalc, Milharčič Hladnik & Žitnik Serafin, 2020; for the period later on see Mlekuž, 2004).

Yet cities such as Padua, Mantova, Milan, Turin, Florence, Genoa or even Rome and Naples did not attract Slovenian servants simply due to the possibility of good or better earnings and – compared to, say, Alexandria[36] – proximity.[37] If the Slovene newspapers of the time and oral testimonies are to be believed, they were also relatively well received by employers. North Italian cities perpetuated the stereotype of "hard working, conscientious and fair" Slovene servants, much like it was the case in Klagenfurt (*Koroški Slovenec*,

34 *Jutro*, 19. 10. 1933: Trst se brani priseljevanja, 2; *Edinost*, 10. 10. 1926: Slovenci v Milanu, 1.

35 Ermacora analyzes these migratory movements on the basis of municipal statistics and Catholic sources as censuses failed to capture them. In 1933 there were supposed to be 10,000 young girls outside the region, in May 1936 about 16,000, and in 1938 approx. 17,000. According to pastoral visitations, about 50% of these servants were said to work in Rome and Milan, followed by Turin, Genoa, Naples and other hotspots of the peninsula (cf. Ermacora, 2010, 101).

36 Aleksandria and Kairo in Egypt were the destinations of mass migration of Slovene woman from nowadays Goriška, Karst and Vipava Valley. They were named aleksandrinke, and they worked as servants, nannies, wet nurses and governess from the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century (cf. Milharčič Hladnik, 2015; Makuc, 1993, etc.).

37 *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 31. 1. 1930: Slovenske izseljenke. Naše služkinje. – Slovenke v Nemčiji, Franciji in Belgiji. – Afrika, Amerika in Avstralija, 2.

4. 5. 1927), Zagreb, Belgrade or the far-off Alexandria. One can assume that chauvinist and racist contempt was less present there as it was in Trieste, where servants grappled with different forms of border fascism. Milena Ferletič née Mozetič, for example, did not know Italian when she moved from Vrtojba to Milan in 1929 to a family that treated her well. As her nephew Renato Podbersič says: "They [masters] were fascists, they were in the party but they were not hard-line. Even when her friends came, and they [friends] came rarely, they [masters] did not bother her at all if they [friends] spoke Slovene with her." (Podbersič, 2020) Milena pulled double duty for the family, she was both governess and servant. She had a long and busy schedule with practically no free time, but she later remembered that she was paid well and "it wasn't bad for her". Slovene newspapers conveyed similar messages from Milan, especially regarding the governesses as their "work was not hard, they had a relatively good salary, clean and nice apartments, but little free time."[38]

Once again, many similarities between Slovene-speaking servants and German--speaking servants from South Tyrol can be observed. As was the case amongst the Slovenes, many Tyroleans in distant Italian cities felt less nationalist hatred than if they had served the Italians in their home environment, according to several oral testimonies. Working conditions were better and earnings were higher. They were especially popular with Italian families because they were able to pass on their knowledge of the German language to their children, which was becoming increasingly important at a time when Italy was coming closer to Hitler's Germany (Lüfter, Verdofer & Wallnörfer, 2006). Nevertheless, German-speaking Tyrolean nationalists approached the departure of young women to Italian cities with mixed feelings, which also applies in the case of Slovenian nationalists and is clearly reflected in the Slovenian press at the time.

Slovene newspaper media established an ambivalent attitude towards the relatively favorable conditions for the work of Slovene servants in the "old Italian provinces". On the one hand, they wrote about these new migration flows with sympathy in light of the difficult social conditions and widespread unemployment at home. At the same time, they called for the immediate organization of Slovene societies for Slovene emigrants. Yet on the other hand, individual writers worried that the increased migratory flow into the interior of Italy will only accelerate the assimilation towards which the Italian fascist authorities strove at the time.[39] The process was seen as the next, advanced phase of forced transfer from the Julian March. Various other professional profiles were already subject to this, according to *Slovenec*: "The fascists brought Slovenian teachers, officials and railway workers from the Littoral to Italy. The problem of the servants will also be solved in a fascist manner. Fascist will be met with the fact that Slovenian servants themselves are more popular than Italian ones in actual Italian families, because they are generally considered to be more honest."[40]

38 *Edinost*, 10. 10. 1926: Slovenci v Milanu, 1.

39 *Slovenec*, 29. 2. 1928: Tudi služkinje je treba premestiti v Italijo, 2.

40 *Slovenec*, 29. 2. 1928: Tudi služkinje je treba premestiti v Italijo, 2.

Yugoslavia

As already pointed out above, servants from Carniola, Styria and Carinthia, or more precisely from Slovene-speaking areas that would belong to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia after 1918, also migrated to Trieste in large numbers before the First World War. In light of the fact that borders shifted after 1918 and therefor reduced their influx to the town, the following question remains: What happened to the now redundant workforce of these Slovene servants? Newspapers in the 1920s provided very specific answers to this issue, and among the possible new destinations specifically established Zagreb and Belgrade. For instance, *Jutro* wrote in 1929: "As they [servants] once flooded Trieste's 'Fordo Coroneo', so do they now flock to the Kalemegdan in Belgrade every Sunday afternoon."[41]

As the capital of the newly formed Kingdom of SCS Belgrade consolidated itself an important political, economic and administrative center after the first world war. Therefore, it also attracted Slovene-speaking workers,[42] among them Slovene domestic servants.[43] As contemporary newspapers suggest, Slovene servants were well paid in Belgrade.[44] However, the motives for their high employability in the Yugoslav capital were not only economic in nature, but – again, if one is to believe the press at the time – also cultural. As for instance in Italian towns, the myth about clean, honest, disciplined, god-fearing Slovene servant prevailed also in Belgrade.[45] Moreover, some of them moved together with their Slovene employers who worked in the capital as professionals, government officials, etc. The promise of earnings especially during the economic crisis coupled with high unemployment at home attracted an even larger number of young Slovene women in the thirties.

The considerable number of Slovene servants in Belgrade as well as fears about their moral decline and unscrupulous exploitation in this non-slovene and non-Catholic environment,[46] motivated the start of various organizational activities.[47] For instance, a catholically oriented association of Slovene servants already gained traction in Belgrade in 1920 under the name Savez služkinja (Servants' Alliance) (Žvan, 1932, 60–65). Later it even published the monthly *Naše ognjišče* (1930) (Ratej, 2014, 374).[48]

Going on several remarks in the newspapers at the time, Slovene servants were also attracted to the Croatian Zagreb *en masse* in the period between the two world wars, not just Belgrade. In 1930, between 25,000 and 30,000 Slovene immigrants

41 *Jutro*, 1. 12. 1929: Pismo iz Beograda, 12.

42 *Slovenec*, 1. 1. 1939: Slovenci v Belgradu in še dalje na jugu. Deset tisoč Slovencev v Belgradu misli na svoj dom, 5.

43 *Slovenec*, 1. 1. 1936: Iz naše diaspore, Naše ognjišče, 23.

44 *Slovenec*, 20. 11. 1930: Slovenska dekleta v Belgradu. Kako delajo in skrbe za svoje rojakinje, 3.

45 *Jutro*, 1. 12. 1929: Pismo iz Beograda, 12.

46 *Naše Ognjišče*, september 1931: Dekletom tam doma, 7.

47 There was a well-organized shelter for women in Belgrade run by a Slovene, Alojzija Štebi, which was pointed out by the *Gospodinjska pomočnica* in 1937. Cf. *Gospodinjska pomočnica*, VII, 7, 1937: Žensko zavetišče v Beogradu, 49–50.

48 Cf. more on this topic: Cergol Paradiž & Testen Koren, 2021a.

lived there. They constituted one seventh of the population, and, according to the Croats, "all the maids, all the servants and all the waiters in Zagreb were Slovenes."[49] Therefore, it is not surprising that several Slovene catholic organizations, that were situated in Zagreb, directed at least to some extend their (charitable) efforts to servants.

Slovene servants also moved to various other larger Yugoslav cities in the period between the two world wars, for example to Skopje (*Izseljeniški vestnik*, III, 5, 1933, 5) and Sarajevo, etc., where again could found support of slovene (catholic) organizations (*Slovenec*, 25. 10. 1925, 5).[50]

The mass exodus of Slovene servants to the south of Yugoslavia raises the issue of their employment opportunities at home, that is in major Slovene cities, especially in Ljubljana. After the first war, as the Slovenes' political and economic capital within the Kingdom of SCS, Ljubljana gained prominence. However, the number of servants in the city increased only slightly. The percentage of households with servants indicates that there were no significant changes compared to the period before the war, since there were 42% households with servants in 1910[51] and 44% households with servants in 1921 in the same area.[52]

Nonetheless, in the years that followed, the number of servants in Ljubljana was quite substantial. According to the statistical data of the District Office in Ljubljana and its surroundings, there were 8,400 servants in the Drava Banate in December 1933, and Ljubljana was supposed to have employed 3,500 of them.[53] In addition, servants were relatively well organized in the city. There were several professional and educational organizations with activities partially or entirely dedicated to servants that had different political orientations/affiliations.

Another issue arises regarding Ljubljana and its servants. Due to the pressure of Italianization, the period after the First World War saw many Slovene-oriented inhabitants of the former Austrian Littoral relocate from the Julian March to Ljubljana and the wider Kingdom of SCS. However, the afore mentioned political changes did not have any impact on the servant structure in the city.

49 *Koledar Družbe sv. Mohorja*, 1930, 36. According to the 1931 census, 17,627 people in Zagreb spoke Slovene as their mother tongue. There were in fact many more Slovenes. Once the people from the Littoral are added to the account, the number is about 20,000. The vast majority of them were from the Drava Banate. See also: Kolar, 1995, 116; *Slovenec*, 24. 2. 1935: Slovenci v Zagrebu, 3. More on the topic of Slovenes in Zagreb: Kržišnik-Bukić, 1995, 147.

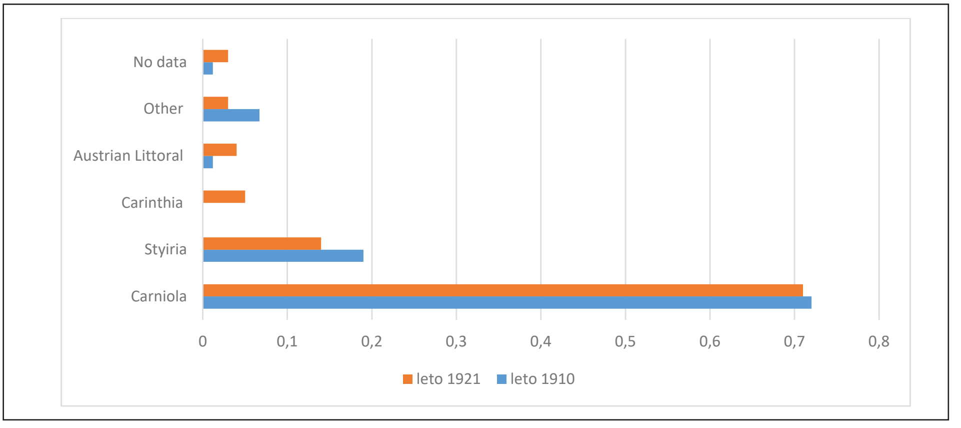
50 *Izseljenski vestnik*, IV, 2, 1934: Srb za naša slovenska dekleta, 1.

51 According to data collected by Andrej Studen (1995, 176–181, 188–189) for the Census 1910 (Stari trg, Gosposka ulica, Franca Jožefa cesta).

52 Data derived from our own calculations based on census sheets from 1921 for Ljubljana (Stari trg, Gosposka ulica, Franca Jožefa cesta). *Popisi prebivalstva*, that are available on www.sistory.si.

53 According to statistical data, there was 3,650 servant personnel in Ljubljana. This number also incorporates male domestic personnel and women, who worked in households daily, the latter being few in number. Minka Kroft (1888–1954), Slovene women's movement activist and publisher, estimates that 100 to 200 personnel should be subtracted, leading us to arrive at 3,500 servant personnel in Ljubljana. See: *Gospodinjska pomočnica*, IV, 4, 1934: Pomen in moč skupnosti, 40.

Graph 2: Ljubljana's servants by place of birth 1910, 1921 (in %); Stari trg, Gosposka ulica, Franca Jožefa cesta (Studen, 1995; www.sistory.si).



Similarly, as in the period before the war, the majority of servants working in Ljubljana during the 1921 population census were born in Carniola (71%); 14% of them were born in Styria, 5% in Carinthia, 4% in the Littoral and 3% elsewhere. The data thus indicates that, contrary to expectations, a relatively small number of servants from the Littoral worked in Ljubljana in 1921 and their percentage underwent only a slight increase in comparison with that of 1910 (from 2% to 4%) (Graph 2). With respect to the available data, it is therefore possible to assume that former servants from the Littoral did not join the wave of (political) migrants from Trieste to Ljubljana *en masse*, or if they did, they did not seek employment as servants, but chose other professions. As sources suggest, some workers who were born in the Austrian Littoral and worked as servants in Trieste before the First World War sought employment after the war in the Ljubljana's tobacco factory, for example.[54] This data corresponds to the otherwise general, global trend of former servants shifting to industrial plants or doing public works which had opened up after the First World War.

However, it is imperative not to forget the trends that dramatically reduce the amount of regular work available to women during and after the economic crisis in the 1930s, a time when income had dropped significantly and unemployment remained high. Nevertheless, according to data provided by *Gospodinjska pomočnica* in June 1935, a third of households in Ljubljana (4,034 out of 12,816) still employed servants, while others either managed without them or employed day-after-day help, depending on the need of each household. The quoted narrative at hand highlights the economic circumstances that forced all young women including "a teacher with a high school diploma, sales associates, girls with a completed four-grade middle-class school, seamstresses, knitters, field

54 SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 1 (delavske knjižice).

workers and factory workers"[55] to see the solution in working as servants. The increasing employment of women from the lower middle class as domestic servants and the significantly reduced share of those who stayed in the same household for several years (only up to 55% of servants stayed with the same family for a year or more) both attest to the crisis and gradual transformation of this segment of the workforce. Is this the reason why migration routes "to the south" remained frequent despite the burning issue of general unemployment there as well?

After the First World war, however, the migration paths of Slovene servants stretched also beyond the Kingdom of SCS or the Kingdom of Italy. Despite the fact that the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian empire certainly diminished such possibilities, there are evidences, that a quite considerable number of Slovenian women still worked as servants in Austrian towns (Klagenfurt, Vienna,[56] Graz[57]). Their paths lead them also to more remote countries especially to Alexandria, but also to France (Paris, Lille, etc.),[58] England,[59] Belgium and even Spain or Albania[60]. They even traveled further, as in Uruguay in South America. Many girls joined their significant others who went to the US, Westphalia in Germany, Argentina and Australia. Yet, unlike the men, they mostly lacked their own professional organizations.

THOSE WHO REMAINED

The archival material from Archivio di Stato di Trieste reveals the following story: Anna Zupancich worked as a servant for Alice Ditz in Trieste for two and half years. In July 1920, she used her time off to visit her family in the vicinity of Ljubljana. Owing to the nature of her work but also due to movement restrictions during wartime, she is believed not to have seen her family for several years. She asked for permission to return to her post after her time off was concluded. Mrs. Ditz vouched for her in a letter dated August 21, 1920, emphasizing that Anna Zupancich was trustworthy since she had worked as a servant in Trieste for more than two decades.[61]

The case of Anna Zupancich attests to some of the problems faced by servants who moved to Trieste before the war in search of income and remained in the city even after the state border separated their birthplace from the city where they may have lived and worked for a long time. In the post-war period, they encountered major obstacles in visiting family members and even greater obstacles in returning to work, and the approval of their application depended on the favor of their employers and city authorities.

55 *Gospodinjska pomočnica*, V, 6, 1935: Gospodinja in gospodinjska pomočnica, 42.

56 *Gospodinjska pomočnica*, I, 4, 1931: Kako so gospodinjske pomočnice organizirane drugod, 41–43.

57 *Koroški Slovenec*, VII, 4. 5. 1927: Celovec, 3.

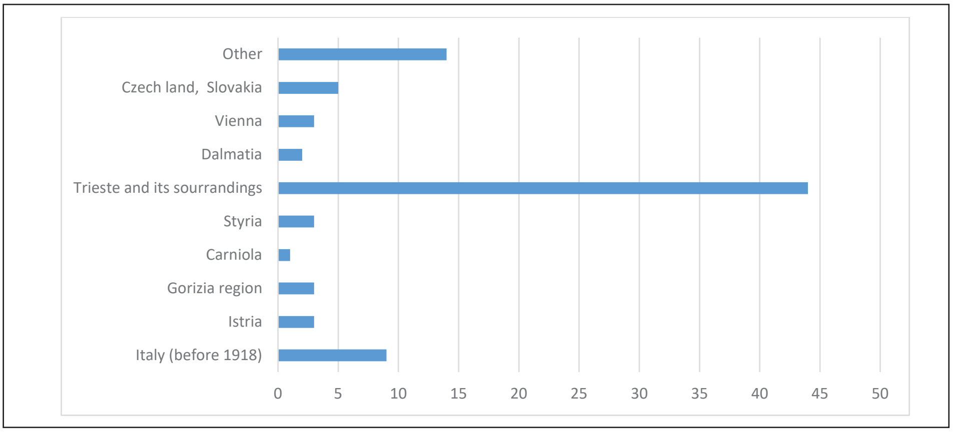
58 Francija, in: *Koledar družbe sv. Mohorja*, 1935, 60.

59 *Izseljenski vestnik Rafael. Glasilo Družbe sv. Rafaela v Ljubljani*, V, 5, 1935: Slovenska dekleta za Anglijo, 5; *Gospodinjska pomočnica*, IX, 6–7, 1939: Slovenska dekleta za Anglijo, 45, 54; *Gospodinjska pomočnica*, IX, 8, 1939: Darinka Vdovič, Dekleta, ki odhajajo v tujino, 57–59.

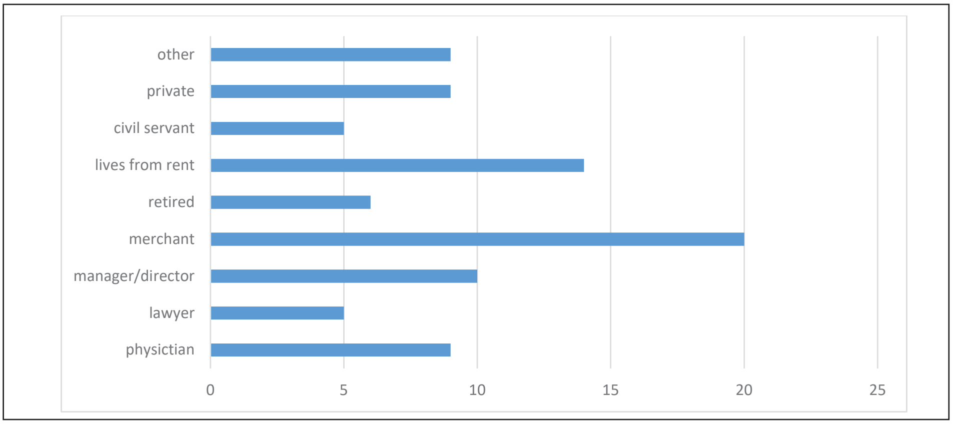
60 *Gospodinjska pomočnica*, IX, 6, 1939: Slovenke v Albaniji, 43–45.

61 ASTs, RCGC Gab., b. 87, Passaporti.

Graph 3: Masters of servants, born in lands that became a part of the Kingdom of SCS or Austria after WWI (place of birth), 1921 (AGT, Censimento della popolazione, Trieste 1921, b. 41–42, 44–48, 52–53).



Graph 4: Masters of servants, born in lands that became a part of the Kingdom of SCS or Austria after WWI (profession), 1921 (AGT, Censimento della popolazione, Trieste 1921, b. 41–42, 44–48, 52–53).



According to census data, a significant number of servants found themselves in a similar situation to Anna Zupancich. 96 servants (17%) in the sample from 1921 were born in places that did not belong to the Kingdom of Italy after the war, but to Yugoslavia or Austria. In the sample of 1930, there are still 30 such servants (8,2%). It is worth emphasizing that the mentioned group of servants from 1921 had a particular demographic profile. Compared to the entire sample of servants from the year 1921 they were a great deal older; namely, their

mean age was 36,5. We have reliable data that many of them had been residing in Trieste for a longer period. Thus, they do not correspond to the profile of *life-cycle servants* which was typical for others in the sample and also held true for the Carniolan servants in Trieste before the war. Instead, they fit the profile *of life-long servants,* as this group consisted of elderly, unmarried servants who might have become permanent residents of Trieste and did not intend to return to their places of origin (Hajnal, 1983; Laslett, 1977 and 1983; Mitterauer, 1990, etc).

Graph 5: Servants, born in lands that had become a part of the Kingdom of SCS or Austria after WW1 (citizenship), 1921, 1931 (AGT, Censimento della popolazione, Trieste 1921, b. 41–42, 44–48, 52–53; Censimento della popolazione, Trieste 1931, b. 211, 213, 215, 217, 223–224, 237, 239, 243, 246, 249, 252, 255, 259, 263, 269, 270, 272, 277, 283, 286, 291, 293, 298, 303–307, 313–315).

	1921	**1930**
Yugoslav citizenship	42	14
Austrian citizenship	31	4
opted for Italian citizenship	6	0
granted Italian citizenship	0	10
unknown	12	0
granted Italian citizenship as wives or widows of Italian men	5	2

Employers of this specific group of servants were also usually individuals from older generations (mean age 55,8) who quite often lived off annuities (14) or received pensions (6) (Graph 4). However, contrary to our expectations, they did not include a significant number of individuals who themselves also originated from the countries of the former Austria-Hungary that were annexed to the Kingdom of SCS after the First World War or Austria. Instead, more than half (44 of 87) were born in Trieste, and nine even came from places that had belonged to Italy even before the war (Graph 3). This means that, despite the long-standing public political drive against such national intermingling, there was certainly a number of households with heads who spoke Italian and employed servants who did not just originate from the Slovene/Yugoslav speaking environment, but often actually became foreign citizens after 1918, which is another peculiarity of this specific group of women in the sample. If once again the sample from 1921 is taken into account the numbers are as follows: out of a total of 96 servants born in areas that were included in the Kingdom of SCS or Austria after the war, as many as 42 women held Yugoslav and 31 Austrian citizenship, 6 women opted for Italian citizenship, the status of 12 servants is unknown or unclear, and 5 servants were granted Italian citizenship as wives or widows of Italian men (Graph 5).

Graph 6: Residents of Trieste (sample for Borgo Teresiano) in relation to citizenship status, 1921 (N=7047) (AGT, Censimento della popolazione, Trieste 1921, b. 41–42, 44–48, 52–53).

	Citizens *ipso facto*	Citizens *ipso facto* (in %)	Italian citizenship by option or election	Italian citizenship by option or election (in %)	Foreign citizenship	Foreign citizenship (in %)
all residents	**5783**	**82%**	**695**	**9,90%**	**569**	**8,10%**
men	2505	82%	336	11%	216	7%
women	3278	82%	359	10%	353	8%
servants	490	77%	18	4%	114	19%

The high proportion of foreign citizens among servants is the consequence of several complex reasons. Firstly, women's status and citizenship in the post-war period was an extremely delicate legal issue. Legal codes, including the Italian Legal Code of 1863, mostly stipulated that a married woman obtained her husbands' citizenship; on the other hand, no specific course of action was stipulated for an unmarried woman or her status was contingent upon that of her father (*pater familias*). Secondly, the peace treaties relating to the Successor States of the ex-Austro-Hungarian Empire did not include satisfactory criteria to determine citizenship. (Where the Versailles, Neuilly, and Lausanne Treaties for the *ipso facto* acquisition of nationality – lay down, in the first instance, the principles of *Habitual Residence* or *Ordinary Residence*, the Treaties relating to the Successor States of the ex-Austro-Hungarian Empire usually supplant that principle by that of Rights of Citizenship {*Heimatsrecht*, *Indigenat*, *Pertinenza*}). Adherence to the *Heimatsrecht* principle in peace treaties led to several cases where individuals did not acquire citizenship or had dual citizenship, however, even more common were cases where individuals were assigned incorrect or contested citizenship. In areas annexed to Italy, several pre-war Italian laws were also complied with when regulating citizenship status, in addition to the provisions of post-war peace treaties and agreements.

The complex and vague instructions were difficult to put into practice in the multi-ethnic area of the former Austrian Littoral or more specifically Trieste. As can be seen in Graph 6, this does not hold true only for servants but for other segments of Trieste's population as well. In a sample of 7,047 residents, there were only 5,783 (82%) of those who obtained Italian citizenship *ipso facto*, i.e. automatically, 695 (9,9%) opted for Italian citizenship and 569 (8,1%) were at the time (in 1921) without Italian citizenship.[62]

However, among servants, the proportion of those who did not gain or did not even opted for Italian citizenship is bigger. In fact, only 4% of servants opted for Italian citizenship, and as many as 19% of servants lived with foreign citizenship in the city.

62 Among the latter, 31% were citizens of the Kingdom of SCS, 16% were Austrian citizens, 14% were Greek, etc.

Moreover, a decade later, in 1930, the share of foreign (especially Yugoslav or for instance Austrian) citizens among them was still significant (11,02%). Besides the census data, the applications for Italian citizenship which had been processed by the Prefecture of Trieste in the 1920s, were also reviewed for the purpose of this study. Again, there were only a few servants among the applicants. The others were teachers, civil servants, prostitutes and women without professions.[63]

To reconsider, why did Slovene (and also Austrian) servants not regulate their status in Italy? Perhaps some still hoped to return to their place of birth, and the lack of Italian citizenship did not yet represent such an important professional or general life barrier for them as it did for some other social segments of the Trieste population. One should also consider the scope of the relationships within households, where these servants were most likely not merely employed, but had also established more lasting and emotionally engaged relationships over the years. Did this kind of emotional capital help them where laws proved themselves inadequate, based on the assumption the emotions in the families where they served were mutual?

The fact remains that the usefulness of possessing civil rights to some extent depends on the success of exercising one's social and labor rights in a given environment, and the Kingdom of Italy was generally late in recognizing such rights for servants. Initiatives for the protection of servants, led by philanthropic or trade union organizations and individual lawyers, as was the case in the past in Austria-Hungary or later in Yugoslavia, were stymied by Italian political decision-makers due to the already exposed unclear position of servants' profession as situated on a crossroads between the public and private sphere. They did not include servants in laws that regulated, for example, child labor or maternity leave, nor did they legally restrict their work schedule just like they did not protect them in case of unemployment. In 1923, servants were given compulsory health and disability insurance which was extended to tuberculosis in 1927.[64] But only the 1942 Civil Code introduced the first significant changes for the better; the rest came down to post-war legislature (Sarti, 2010, 37–47).

It was only with the gradual acquisition of labor and social rights, that foreign-born servants also became aware of the benefits of regulating their status. The case of a Yugoslav citizen, a woman who complained about this issue in the Slovene newspaper *Primorski dnevnik* in 1950 is very significant. She had moved to Trieste from Carniola before the First World War, where she worked as a servant until after Second World War. As she previously possessed *Heimatsrecht, Pertinenza* in Carniola, she was automatically granted Yugoslav citizenship after 1918, which then prevented her from obtaining Italian pension insurance in the second post-war period. As she herself wrote: "I have been living in Trieste for 40 years, I was born in Slovenia, near Ljubljana, I

63 ASTs, Prefettura Ts, Cittadinanza, b. 4371, 4372, 4373.

64 It is precisely this kind of documentation that helped former Slovene servants from the Italo-Slovene border area (now Yugoslav residents) receive an Italian pension following the Secind World War even if they lack of legal documents (work contracts). Acquiring the necessary documents still proved difficult for many women.

did not opt in after the first war, I would like to have all my rights here in Trieste. If you consider my case, you will help many older servants."[65] Her request was followed by detailed legal advice on how she could arrange for citizenship.

Similar obstacles were encountered immediately in the first post-war period by many servants who had remained in Austria after 1918, and who previously had *Heimatsrecht, Pertinenza* in other successor states of Austria-Hungary. The Inlandarbeiterschutzgesetz which was adopted by the Austrian authorities in 1925 and also concerned domestic servants, restricted the employment opportunities of foreign nationals and citizens in terms of their entitlement to benefit from the social insurance system and to work-related rights and legal protection. According to Jessica Richter, "the non-Austrian citizens targeted by the law included those who had received the citizenship of other successor states of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy" (Richter, 2015, 486).


Mod. O. 1.

ISTITUTO NAZIONALE FASCISTA DELLA PREVIDENZA SOCIALE

ASSICURAZIONI OBBLIGATORIE

invalidità e vecchiaia, disoccupazione, tubercolosi e maternità

ASSICURATO N. 1878919 Prov. MILANO

TESSERA N. U. E.

Bollo dell'ufficio che rilascia la tessera e data di rilascio

I.N.F.P.S. 14 SET. 939 6 SEDE DI MILANO

Data di annullamento della prima marca (Questa data deve essere apposta dal datore di lavoro quando applica la prima marca)

15 Ottobre 1939

Cognome Ferletic

(per le donne maritate si aggiunga, dopo il cognome del marito, quello da ragazza)

nome Milena paternità Leopoldo

nato il 15. 11. 912

nel comune di Vertoiba

professione

L' assegnazione del numero distintivo dell'assicurato viene disposta dagli uffici incaricati della emissione o del ritiro e della rinnovazione della prima tessera.

L'assicurato, qualora venga interrotto o cessi il rapporto assicurativo può conservare, purchè possa far valere contributi obbligatori per almeno 48 settimane, i diritti derivanti dalle assicurazioni obbligatorie per l'invalidità e la vecchiaia e per la tubercolosi

A tale effetto egli deve chiedere all'Istituto, non oltre cinque anni dalla data dell'ultimo contributo obbligatorio, l'autorizzazione a proseguire volontariamente il versamento dei contributi nelle assicurazioni predette.

I versamenti volontari sono equiparati per tutti gli effetti a quelli obbligatori.

Fig. 1: The Servants' Employment Booklet from Milena Ferletič while she was working in Milan (notice the disability insurance, health insurance and tuberculosis papers) (Renato Podbersič's private archive).

CONCLUSION

Post-war transition periods have always a long-term impact on women's identities and their work possibilities. As was already highlighted in the introduction, they can accentuate their traditional invisibility, exclusion and marginalization, but at the same time they also may facilitate their inclusion and empowerment. However, different occupational profiles/social categories of women are affected differently by post-war changes. The paper focuses on domestic servants. As many researchers in the last two or three decades concluded, it is key to utilize the so-called "longer historical perspective" in order to gain better insight into the (contemporary) phenomenon of domestic labor. Moreover, *macro-*, *meso-* and *micro-*regions usually retain their specifics (Hoerder, 2015, 105). Thought that past experiences, patterns and models from different geographic areas all make an important contribution not only to the interpretation itself, but also to the attempts of addressing the (global) challenges of domestic work throughout time

65 *Primorski dnevnik*, 11. 8. 1950: Fortunat Mikuletič, O državljanstvu, 2.

(Yeates, 2005, 12). For the purpose of this study, Slovene servants in Trieste after the First World War were taken into account and their migration routes were studied. Important questions are brought up in this Italo-Slovene border area, such as that of citizenship and social rights, national belonging, work opportunities, the dynamics of a market operating according to the principle of supply and demand, adjustment to altered living conditions, etc. Precisely in this *micro* (Trst) and *meso* environment (NE Adriatic Region in global context) of the study at hand, it was particularly necessary to analyze how post-war emergence of new countries and their borders interfered with the established migration flows of Slovene servants. In addition to the changed geopolitical reality of the area itself with all the administrative problems that such changes bring, Slovenian servants also faced the deterioration of the economic situation and the radicalization of anti-Slovenian border fascism, which affected them heavily, too. In attempt to answer the main research question of how the status and work possibilities of Slovene women servants in Trieste changed after WW1, it was important to understand the continuities, but also to detect and emphasize discontinuities that affected the servants' work in this area. In doing so, there were some observations which proved to be important. Slovene servants – in some respects a politically important population category before the First World War – became invisible after the war. However, this (political) invisibility did not affect their economic relevance much. Juxtaposed with other female occupational groups, Slovene servants had still the possibility to work and survive in Trieste's environment. To a certain extent they were allowed to speak, act and live as Slovenes. Slovene servants in Trieste were therefore caught in an inclusion-exclusion paradox.

State borders (and even imagined ones that divide nations, neighbours and fellow human beings) have changed several times in NE Adriatic region, both in their permeability and location throughout the 20st century; after the First, the Second World War and in a certain manner, also in the 90s. The ways in which these administrative, social, cultural as well as other obstacles have been overcome by Slovenian servants offer a deeper insight into this occupational profile of women, as well as their survival strategies and choices that have been given to them by living along the state border. Therefore, the present microstudy is a fragment, but at the same time a foundation for more in-depth understanding of the dynamics of this professional profile in a given space and time.

IZKLJUČENE MED IZKLJUČENIMI? TRST/TRIESTE IN (SLOVENSKE) SLUŽKINJE PO PRVI SVETOVNI VOJNI

Petra TESTEN KOREN
Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: petra.testen@ff.uni-lj.si

Ana CERGOL PARADIŽ
Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: ana.cergol@ff.uni-lj.si

POVZETEK

Slovenske služkinje so pred prvo svetovno vojno v Trstu zaradi svoje številčnosti predstavljale pomembno politično kategorijo. Prispevek naslavlja vprašanje, kako so politične spremembe po letu 1918, ko je mesto pripadlo Italiji – denimo večji del Kranjske, od koder so slovenske služkinje poprej množično migrirale, pa Kraljevini SHS –, vplivale na njihovo številčno razmerje v mestu in kako se je ob pritisku italijanizacije spremenil njihov družbeni položaj. Analiza vzorca popisnih pol iz tržaške premožne terezijanske četrti potrjuje tudi v takratnem časopisju izraženo domnevo, da se je število služkinj po vojni v primerjavi s predvojnim obdobjem zmanjšalo. Še posebej se je zmanjšal delež slovenskih služkinj, rojenih na Kranjskem, Štajerskem in Koroškem, po drugi strani pa se je povečal delež služkinj, rojenih v krajih, ki so že pred vojno pripadali Italiji. K temu so poleg na novo vzpostavljene meje pripomogli tudi neposredni ukrepi italijanskih oblasti, ki so spodbujale preseljevanje italijanskih služkinj in načrtno omejevale priseljevanje slovenskih služkinj. Številne slovenske služkinje, še posebej tiste iz neposrednega priselitvenega bazena in nekoliko bolj oddaljene Goriške, so kljub spremenjenim družbeno-političnim razmeram (gospodarska kriza, fašizem) po prvi svetovni vojni še prihajale v Trst. Tekom dvajsetih let 20. stoletja so se soočale s šovinističnimi in rasno zaznamovanimi napadi v javnem prostoru (časopisje, tržnica, trgovine) in na delovnem mestu. Kljub temu so v mestu našle organizacijsko podporo in so, ko sta bila v poznih dvajsetih letih prepovedana tako slovenska beseda kot slovenska društva, pod okriljem RKC, predvsem Marijine družbe, ohranjale svojo slovensko identiteto ter podporno mrežo. Tudi italijanske služkinje se so v istem obdobju v Trstu lahko oprle na nekatere pobude italijanskih ženskih društev. V nadaljevanju je pozornost usmerjena na tiste slovenske služkinje, ki so zaradi spremenjenih povojnih razmer znotraj nove domovine Italije preusmerile svoje migracijske poti. Veliko se jih je zaradi boljših delovnih pogojev in tudi manjšega pritiska »obmejnega fašizma«, podobno kot to velja za nemško govoreče tirolske služkinje, usmerilo v severno italijanska mesta, predvsem Milan. Slovenske služkinje, živeče v okvirih novoustanovljene Kraljevine SHS, pa so se – poleg migracij »na tuje« – vse bolj množično začele seliti tudi v Zagreb ali Beograd. V Ljubljani, novo osnovani prestolnici Slovencev,

je njihovo število takoj po vojni le rahlo narastlo, a se je s porastom v tridesetih letih mesto kmalu ponašalo z živahno družbeno dejavnostjo v njihovo korist. S posebnimi težavami so se spopadale slovenske služkinje, rojene v krajih, ki so po vojni pripadali Kraljevini SHS, vendar so v Trst prišle že pred vojno in v mestu ostale tudi po njej. Popisni podatki kažejo, da jih je znatno število živelo v mestu brez italijanskega državljanstva. Nekatere so svoj status poskušale urediti šele po drugi svetovni vojni.

Ključne besede: služkinje, Trst, povojna tranzicija, zgodovina spolov, popis prebivalstva, migracije, državljanstvo

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

AGT – Archivio Generale del Comune di Trieste.

Apollonio, A. (2001): Dagli Ausburgo a Mussolini. Venezia Giulia 1918–1922. Gorizia, LEG.

Apollonio, A. (2004): Venezia Giulia e fascismo 1922–1935. Una società post-asburgica negli anni di consolidamento della dittatura mussoliniana. Gorizia, LEG.

ASTs, CCCTT – Archivio di Stato di Trieste (ASTs), Commissariato civile per la città di Trieste e Territorio (1919–1922) (CCCTT).

ASTs, Prefettura Ts – ASTs, Prefettura di Trieste.

ASTs, RCGC Gab. – ASTs, R.[egio] Governatorato poi Commissariato Generale Civile per la Venezia Giulia, Atti di Gabinetto, 1919–1922 (RCGC Gab.).

Björkdahl, A. (2012): A Gender-Just Peace? Exploring the Post-Dayton Peace Process in Bosnia. Peace and Change. A Journal of Peace Research, 37, 2, 286–317.

Boris, E. & J. N. Fish (2015): Decent Work for Domestics: Feminist Organizing, Worker Empowerment, and the ILO. In: Hoerder, D., Nederveen Meerkerk, E. van & S. Neunsin (eds.): Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers. Leiden, Boston, Brill, 530–552.

Cergol Paradiž, A. & P. Testen Koren (2021a): Nekateri vidiki dela slovenskih služkinj v Kraljevini SHS/Jugoslaviji po prvi svetovni vojni. Retrospektive, IV, 1 (15. July 2021), 9–30.

Cergol Paradiž, A. & P. Testen Koren (2021b): Slovenske priseljenke v Trstu: Služkinje in vprašanje identitete ob ljudskem štetju 1910. Dve Domovini / Two Homelands (forthcoming).

Cattaruzza, M. (2007): L'Italia e il confine orientale 1866–2006. Bologna, Il Mulino.

Cecotti, F. et al. (2001): "Un esilio che non ha pari" 1914–1918. Profughi, internati ed emigrati di Trieste, dell'Isontino e dell'Istria. Trieste, Gorizia, Istituto regionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia, LEG.

Cockburn, C. (2004): The Continuum of Violence: A Gender Perspective on War and Peace. In: Giles, W. & J. Hyndman (eds.): Sites of Violence. Gender and Conflict Zones. Berkeley, University of California Press, 24–44.

Cox, R. (1997): Invisible Labour: Perceptions of Paid Domestic Work in London. Journal of Occupational Science, 4, 2, 62–67.

Edinost. Trst, 1876–1928.

Ermacora, M. (2010): Emigrazione e modernizzazione sociale in Friuli negli anni del fascismo. In: Vinci, A. M. (ed.): Regime fascista, nazione e periferie. Udine, Trieste, Istituto friulano per la storia del movimento di liberazione, Fondazione Istituto per la storia dell'età contemporanea, Istituto regionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli Venezia Giulia, 89–108.

Fauve Chamoux, A. (2004): Introduction. In: Fauve Chamoux, A. (ed.): Domestic Service and the Formation of European Identity. Understanding the Globalisation of Domestic Work, 16th–21st Centuries. Bern, Peter Lang, 1–12.

Gospodinjska pomočnica: glasilo gospodinjskih pomočnic in hišnih delavk. Ljubljana, 1931–1940.

Hahn, S. (2001): Nowhere at home? Female migrants in the nineteenth-century Habsburg Empire. In: Sharpe, P. (ed.): Women, Gender and Labour Migration. Historical and global perspectives. London, New York, Routledge, 108–126.

Hajnal, J. (1983): Two Kinds of Preindustrial Household Formation. In: Wall, R., Robin, J. & P. Laslett (eds.): Family Forms in Historic Europe. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 65–104.

Hoerder, D. (2015): Introduction: Combining Work and Emotions: Strategies, Agency, Self-assertion. In: Hoerder, D., Nederveen Meerkerk, E. van & S. Neunsin (eds.): Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers. Leiden, Boston, Brill, 113–119.

https://project-eirene.eu/about/objectives/ (last access: 17.06.2021).

https://www.cndi.it/ (last access: 15.04.2021).

Il Piccolo. Trieste, 1881–.

Il Piccolo della Sera. Edizione della sera del Piccolo. Trieste, 1886–1945.

Il Popolo di Trieste: quotidiano fascista della Venezia Giulia. Trieste, 1920–1943.

Izseljenski vestnik: glasilo Rafaelove družbe in izseljenske zbornice. Ljubljana, 1930−1940 (1930−1933 as **Izseljeniški vestnik**).

Jadranka: glasilo zavednega *ženstva*. Trst, 1921–1923.

Jutro. Ljubljana, 1920–1945.

Kacin Wohinz, M. & M. Verginella (2008): Primorski upor fašizmu 1920–1941. Ljubljana, Društvo Slovenska matica.

Kalc, A., Milharčič Hladnik, M. & J. Žitnik Serafin (2020): Doba velikih migracij na Slovenskem. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU.

Klabjan, B. & G. Bajc (2021): Ogenj, ki je zajel Evropo: Narodni dom v Trstu 1920–2020. Ljubljana, Cankarjeva založba.

Kolar, B. (1995): Delo slovenskih duhovnikov med Slovenci v Zagrebu med obema vojnama. In: Kržišnik-Bukić, V. (ed.): Slovenci v Hrvaški: zbornik skupine avtorjev. Ljubljana, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, 115–131.

Koledar Družbe sv. Mohorja. Celje, 1929–1941.

Koroški Slovenec. Celovec, 1921–1941.

Kravanja, B. (2019): Bogdan Kravanja wrote about his grandmother Ana Cuder, born 1913, servant in Trieste between 1929 and 1942. E-note, 22. 7. 2019; 19. 8. 2019. Record held by Petra Testen Koren.

Kržišnik-Bukić, V. (1995): O narodnostnem in kulturnem samoorganiziranju Slovencev na Hrvaškem v 20. stoletju. In: Kržišnik-Bukić, V. (ed.): Slovenci v Hrvaški: zbornik skupine avtorjev. Ljubljana, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, 133–188.

Laslett, P. (1977): Characteristics of the Western Family Considered over Time. In: Laslett, P. (ed.): Family life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generation. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 12–49.

Laslett, P. (1983): Family and Household as work Group and Kin Group: Areas of Traditional Europe Compared. In: Wall, R., Robin, J. & P. Laslett (eds.): Family Forms in Historic Europe. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 513–564.

Lüfter, U., Verdofer, M. & A. Wallnörfer (2006): Wie die Schwalben fliegen sie aus: Südtirolerinnen als Dienstmädchen in italianischen Städten 1920–1960. Bozen, Edition Raetia.

Makuc, D. (1993): Aleksandrinke. Gorica, Goriška Mohorjeva družba.

Mariborski večernik Jutra. Maribor, 1927–1941.

Milharčič Hladnik, M. (ed.) (2015): From Slovenia to Egypt: Aleksandrinke's trans-Mediterranean domestic workers' migration and national imagination. Göttingen, V & R Unipress.

Mitterauer, M. (1990): Historisch-antropologische Familienforschung: Fragestellung und Zugangweisen. Wien, Böhlau.

Mlekuž, J. (2004): Izbrani vidiki zaposlovanja beneških deklet v gospodinjsvih italijanskih mest: tiha, grenko-sladka, nikoli povsem izrečena in slišana zgodba. Dve domovini, 19, 1, 141–164.

Mosconi, A. (1924): I primi anni di governo italiano nella Venezia Giulia. Trieste 1919–1922. Bologna, Cappelli.

Naše Ognjišče. Beograd, 1930–1931.

Nederveen Meerkerk, E. van (2015): Introduction: Domestic Work in the Colonial Context: Race, Color, and Power in the Household. In: Hoerder, D., Nederveen Meerkerk, E. van & S. Neunsin (eds.): Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers. Leiden, Boston, Brill, 245–253.

Nederveen Meerkerk, E. van, Neunsinger, S. & D. Hoerder (2015): Domestic Workers of the World: Histories of Domestic Work as Global Labor History. In: Hoerder, D., Nederveen Meerkerk, E. van & S. Neunsin (eds.): Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers. Leiden, Boston, Brill, 1–24.

Pelikan, E. (2012): Cerkev in obmejni fašizem v luči vatikanskih arhivov. Acta Histriae, 20, 4, 563–576.

Prešeren, J. (1975): Marijina družba “Marije milostljive” v Trstu. Trst, Marijina družba “Marije milostljive”.

Primorski dnevnik. Trst, 1945–.

Podbersič, R. (2020): Renato Podbersič about his aunt Milena Ferletič, born 1912, servant in Milan between 1929 and 1943. Oral testimony, 18. 8. 2020. Audio recording held by Petra Testen Koren.

Popisi prebivalstva – https://sistory.si/popis.

Purini, P. (2010): Metamorfosi etniche. I cambiamenti di popolazione a Trieste, Gorizia, Fiume e in Istria. 1914–1975. Udine, Kappa Vu.

Ratej, M. (2014): Slovenske hišne pomočnice v Beogradu pod okriljem Katoliške cerkve in (razpuščene) Slovenske ljudske stranke v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja. Zgodovinski časopis, 68, 3–4, 372–387.

Richter, J. (2015): What is “Domestic service” Anyway? Producing Household Labourers in Austria (1918–1938). In: Hoerder, D., Nederveen Meerkerk, E. van & S. Neunsin (eds.): Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers. Leiden, Boston, Brill, 484–510.

Sarti, R. (2001): La domesticité en Italie durant la période du fascisme (1922–1943). Sextant, 15–16, 178–184.

Sarti, R. (2010): Lavoro domestico e di cura: quali diritti? In: Sarti, R. (ed.): Lavoro domestico e di cura: quali diritti? Roma, Ediesse, 17–131.

Sarti, R. (2015): Historians, Social Scientists, Servants and Domestics Workers: Fifty Years of Research on Domestic and Care Work. In: Hoerder, D., Nederveen Meerkerk, E. van & S. Neunsin (eds.): Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers. Leiden, Boston, Brill, 25–60.

Sharp, I. & M. Stibbe (2011): Aftermaths of War. Women’s Movements and Female Activists, 1918–1923. Leiden, Boston, Brill.

SI ZAL, LJU 134/3 – Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana (SI ZAL), Tobačna tovarna Ljubljana (LJU/134).

Slovenec. Ljubljana, 1873–1945.

Summers, A. (1998): Public Function, Private Premises: Female Professional Identity and the Domestic-Service Paradigm in Britain, c. 1850–1930. In: Melman, B. (ed.): Borderlines: Genders and Identities in War and Peace 1870–1930, 1870–1930. New York, London, Routledge, 353–376.

Studen, A. (1995): Stanovati v Ljubljani. Ljubljana, Studia humanitatis.

Valdevit, G. (1979): Chiesa e lotte nazionali: il caso di Trieste (1850–1919). Udine, Aries.

Vinci, A. M. (1997): Il fascismo e la società locale. In: Valdevit, G. (ed.): Friuli Venezia Giulia. Storia del ‘900. Gorizia, Istituto regionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli Venezia Giulia, LEG – Libreria Editrice Goriziana, 221–258.

Verginella, M. (2006): Ženska obrobja. Vpis žensk v zgodovino Slovencev. Ljubljana, Delta.

Verginella, M. (2007): Marija Skirnjar, roj. Manfreda. In: Šelih, A., Antić, G. M., Puhar, A., Rener, T., Šuklje, R., Verginella, M. & L. Tavčar: Pozabljena polovica. Portreti žensk 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem. Ljubljana, Tuma, SAZU, 72–74.

Verginella, M. (ed.) (2017): Slovenka: prvi ženski časopis (1897–1902). Ljubljana, Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete.

Verginella, M. (2021): Donne e confini: #pasato#confini#europa#lavoro#pandemia. Roma, Manifestolibri.

Žvan, B. (1932): Slovenci v Beogradu. Socialno-kulturna slika. Beograd, self-published.

Yeates, N. (2005): Global Care Chains. A critical Introduction. Geneva, GCIM.

Received: 2021-10-03 DOI 10.19233/AH.2021.36

THE WOMAN WITHOUT QUALITIES? THE CASE OF ALICE SCHALEK, INTELLECTUAL LABOUR AND WOMEN INTELLECTUALS

Manca G. RENKO
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: manca.renko@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Alice Schalek (1874–1956) is known predominantly as an Austrian war correspondent and one of the first women to practise this profession. Her life and work before and especially after World War I remain fairly unknown, as if the two years on the front were more defining for her than the other eight decades of her life. The article focuses on her intellectual labour and follows her ideological and intellectual development from being an integral part of fin de siècle Viennese artistic society throughout the ideologically fluid 1920s and communist experiments in the 1930s to becoming a tired old woman in American exile. It also presents the ways in which her gender was an obstacle in practicing intellectual work, especially during World War I. No serious attempts to analyse her post-war writings have been made thus far; this article is, at least in part, an attempt to fill in this gap. The article focuses particularly on the division between intellectual labour and the status of an intellectual. Alice Schalek performed intellectual labour; however, she was not recognised as an intellectual. In the conclusion, the article seeks to find the reasons why. Historiography and sociology gave us some answers to the question of who is an intellectual; however, they seem to be applicable mostly to men and their position in society. The case of Alice Schalek also serves as an example of questioning the prevailing qualities of the concept of an intellectual.

Keywords: Alice Schalek, intellectual transitions, intellectual labour, gender, World War I

LA DONNA SENZA QUALITÀ? IL CASO DI ALICE SCHALEK, DEL LAVORO INTELLETTUALE E DELLE DONNE INTELLETTUALE

SINTESI

Alice Schalek (1874–1956) è prevalentemente conosciuta come austriaca corrispondente di guerra e una delle prime donne a esercitare questa professione. La sua vita e il suo lavoro prima e soprattutto dopo la Prima guerra mondiale rimangono abbastanza sconosciuti. L'articolo si concentra sul suo lavoro intellettuale e segue il suo sviluppo

ideologico e intellettuale dall'essere parte integrante della società artistica viennese fin de siècle attraverso gli anni Venti ideologicamente fluidi ed esperimenti comunisti negli anni Trenta fino a diventare una vecchia stanca in esilio americano. Presenta anche i modi in cui il suo genere è stato un ostacolo nella pratica del lavoro intellettuale, specialmente durante la Prima guerra mondiale. Fino ad oggi non ci sono stati seri tentativi nell'analizzare i suoi scritti del dopoguerra e l'articolo in parte cerca di colmare questa lacuna. Particolare attenzione è inoltre rivolta alla divisione tra lavoro intellettuale e status di intellettuale. Alice Schalek ha svolto lavoro intellettuale, ma non è riconosciuta come intellettuale. In conclusione, l'articolo cerca di indagare tali motivi. La storiografia e la sociologia ci hanno dato alcune risposte alla domanda chi è un intellettuale; ma sembra che possano essere principalmente riferibili agli uomini e alla loro posizione nella società. Il caso di Alice Schalek serve anche da esempio per mettere in discussione le qualità prevalenti del concetto di intellettuale.

Parole chiave: Alice Schalek, transizioni intellettuali, lavoro intellettuale, genere, Prima guerra mondiale

INTRODUCTION[1]

Some lives seem to be an eternal footnote, merely a tiny explanation that helps us understand the lives of other, more important people. Such footnotes are usually women or members of marginalised groups. The life of Alice Schalek (1874–1956) seems like one of those footnotes; the footnote to Karl Kraus' *The Last Days of Mankind*, where she will always remain a stupid, blood-thirsty, hysterical woman – a pure caricature of war, a child of her time. Her life seems to be reduced to her work as a war correspondent, to the two years that she spent on the battlefields of Tyrol, Isonzo, Serbia, and Galicia as a member of the k. u. k. Kriegspressequartier (KPQ), the central propaganda institution of the Austro-Hungarian armed forces during World War I. She is also partly remembered as a writer of travelogues and a photographer, although not a very good one.[2] This article seeks to analyse Alice Schalek as an intellectual worker, as someone who devoted her life to writing. From her early fin de siècle writings onwards, we can trace her preoccupation with the idea of women's intellectual work and the lack of possibilities that she as a woman of her generation had in a professional sense. Since the bulk of studies of her life is dedicated to her writings during World War I, this article will focus on the reception of her work during the war and analyse its impact on her in the 1920s. It will also shed light on her work after World War I and analyse her ideological development. It is known that she wrote three communist-oriented books (*Der große Tag* (1930), *Durchgefallen* (1931), *Pudel und Mops und andere Erzählungen für die Kleinen* (1932)); however, it is still unclear what radicalized her. Is it possible to identify her changing ideological positions in her other writings?

The other important aspect of this research is to define the line between intellectual work and becoming an intellectual. Despite the fact that Alice Schalek devoted her entire life to intellectual work, the question of whether she can be called *an intellectual* remains unanswered. It seems that the standards which frame *being an intellectual* according to the historiography and sociology do not apply to her work and – *especially* – her gender. The article will also focus on how her gender defined her role as an intellectual worker: how she was perceived in the male-dominated fields, such as war correspondence and public speaking. It will shed light on Schalek's two major transitions: after World War I, when the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed and partly also after World War II, when she lived as an emigrant in the USA.

Several studies on Alice Schalek have already been written. In 1999, when the Jewish Museum in Vienna organised an exhibition of her photos, they also published a catalogue that sheds light on her life and work. The catalogue *Von Samoa zum Isonzo. Die Fotografin und Reisejournalistin Alice Schalek* (1999) was edited by Elke

1 The article was produced within the EIRENE project, which is founded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 742683).

2 She is also remembered as such in German Biographical Lexikon – NDB.

Krasny et. al and focuses mainly on Schalek's travel photography and World War I. More about the role of women's writing during World War I can be found in *Der Krieg und die Frauen. Geschlecht und populäre Literatur im Ersten Weltkrieg* (2016) edited by Aibe Marlne Gerdes and Michael Fischer. The monograph also contains an article about Schalek, written by Bernhard Bachinger, *Weibliche Kriegsberichtstattung. Alice Schalek im k. u. k Kriegspressequartier*. Another chapter by the same author with the title *Alice Schalek. Standpunkte einer Kriegsberichterstatterin im Ersten Weltkrieg* can be found in the monograph *Kulturmanöver. Das k. u. k. Kriegspressequartier und die Mobilisierung von Wort und Bild* (2015, edited by Sema Colpan et. al.) In 1990 Ursula Bachinger wrote a thesis at the University of Salzburg with a title *Alice Schalek – Feministin (?), Kriegsberichtstätterin (?), Revolutionärin (?),* which remains relevant today. She analysed Schalek especially from the perspective of literature and German and gender studies, alongside other authors who focused mainly on Schalek's war reporting. Some of these include *Rhetorics of War: Karl Kraus vs. Alice Schalek* (2008) written by Elizabeth Klaus, and *Pioneer Journalistinnen: Two Early Twentieth-Century Viennese Cases: Bertha Zuckerkandl and Alice Schalek* (1976) written by Mary Louise Wagener. Although Alice Schalek was far from being the only female war correspondent in World War I, women are still absent from the bulk of overviews of this profession (see e.g. Farrar, 1998; Knightley, 2004). Moreover, as Stephanie Seul emphasises, even histories of women journalists largely ignore female war correspondents and up until today there is no systematic study of female war correspondents during World War I. A small step in this direction was made for the centenary of World War I, as online *International Encyclopaedia of the First World War* was established as a collective project, managed by Freie Universität Berlin, one of the topics on the website is also Women War Reporters, written by Stephanie Seul (last last updated on 22 July 2019).

The fields of history of labour and of the history of intellectual labour are mostly separated, but this paper aims to reduce the division between the two concepts of work, especially in the field of women's intellectual labour in the early 20th century. Crucial historiographical readings about intellectuals include Ory and Sirinelli's examinations of French intellectuals since the Dreyfus Affair, *Les intellectuels en France, de l'affaire Dreyfus à nos joursin* (1986), followed by some more recent German publications, such as *Gelehrte, Politik und Offentlichkeit. Eine Intellektuellengeschichte* (2006) by Gangolf Hübinger and *Kritik und Mandat. Intellektuelle in der Politik* (2000) by Gangolf Hübinger and Thomas Hertfelder. The questions of intellectuals in historiography seems to be a predominantly French-German affair, therefore it is of utmost importance to include Stefan Collini's (2006) contribution *Absent Minds. Intellectuals in Britain, which* focuses on the notion of the word intellectual and its meaning in different historical, national and social contexts.

What most of the literature listed above has in common is that the notion of an intellectual is used for something that one is, not something that one practices. Being an intellectual appears to be more of a calling than a job. In other words, much has been said about being an intellectual, but not enough about what is in fact

intellectual labour.[3] We know that not everyone who practises intellectual labour is entitled to the position of an intellectual; however, every intellectual had to practice intellectual labour to become one. Through Alice Schalek, a woman who spent her whole life writing, we will seek to define intellectual labour, the position of a female intellectual worker, and observe the historical and social limitations that shaped women's intellectual labour. It is clear that Alice Schalek was hardworking, but was that enough? The aim of this article is not Alice Schalek's intellectual rehabilitation; the article is aimed at using her as an example in order to show the obstacles to referring to a woman as an *intellectual* in the early 20th century.

The primary sources for this study were Alice Schalek's literature works (*Wann wird es Tagen?* (1902), *Das Fräulein* (1905), *Schmerzen der Jugend* (1909), *Der große Tag* (1930)) and her newspaper articles published in *Neue Freie Presse*, *Neues Wiener Journal*, *Der Neue Tag* and *Arbeiter Zeitung*, between 1919 and 1931. Other sources include her letters kept in the Austrian National Library (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) and in the Austrian State Archives (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv). Unfortunately, much of her legacy disappeared, most likely in 1939, when she fled Austria due to the Nazi threat.

EDUCATION FOR FEMININITY, NOT FOR THE PROFESSION

Alice Schalek was born in 1874 to a bourgeoisie Jewish family in Vienna. It was just slightly too early to be possible for her to study at the University of Vienna, where the first women students were allowed from 1896 onwards (Hanisch, 1994). Later in life, she often mentioned her lack of formal education and from her early writings on she focused on the importance of education for women. Her first novel, *Wann wird es tagen?* (When Will It Happen?) was published in 1902 under a male pseudonym Paul Michaely and addressed the questions of women's education and work. This novel, as well as her early literary work in general, is a typical Viennese novel of the fin de siècle; it deals with bourgeois life, Jewish environment[4] in Vienna, troubles of (women's) honour, and the boundaries between modernity and tradition. She focuses exclusively on women, particularly bourgeois women and their problems. It is clear from her writings that she is sensitive to the social topics, but she sticks to the dilemmas of the bourgeoisie and only rarely writes about the struggles of the working class. The central question of the novel *Wann wird es tagen* is women's education, something that occupied her mind for the rest of her life. She problematized the uneven circumstances in which women received their education and were later in life unable to establish themselves as

3 Intellectal labour seems to be a topic of mainly Marxist studies; amongst them the most well known belong to Antonio Gramsci's division on traditional and organic intellectuals in his *Prison Notebooks*, Alfred Sohn-Rethel's study on intellectual and manual labour and Hans Jürgen Krahl's criticism of intellectual labour in the societies of advanced capitalism. These theories are only partly applicabe to the context of female intellectual labour in the early 20th century and were therefore not the main literature for this study.

4 In 1904 Alice Schalek converted to Protestantism (Bachinger, 1990, 84).

independent human beings. She maintained that men could gain education that helps them change their social status, unlike women, who are reduced to care-work and can be socially upgraded only via marriage. She resented this idea.

The central question in almost all Alice Schalek's fin de siècle writings is how a woman can become a full member of the society in a professional, political, artistic, and also intimate sense. She questions the ideals and social conventions applicable to bourgeois women and even portrays them as a lie. The opening motto of her collection of short stories entitled *Das Fräulein* is: "Do not use the foreign word *ideals*. We have that excellent native word: *lies*."[5] (Schalek, 1905). As shown in the novel *Wann wird es tagen,* women are not limited by their "nature" but by their situation. Almost half a century later Simone de Beauvoir wrote that the limitation of a woman comes from her situation, not from her mysterious essence and asked herself how could women be genius, when they were deprived of every opportunity to do genius work? (Beauvoir, 2013, 552). However, the majority of women sharing Alice Schalek's social and historical background were, in fact, deprived of almost any opportunity to do any kind of work, not just that of a genius (or an intellectual).

In 1909 Alice Schalek published her last work of fiction for the next 20 years. From 1903 onwards she was an editor of the liberal daily Viennese newspaper *Neue Freie Presse*. She worked for this newspaper for almost 30 years and wrote hundreds of articles, especially travelogues. This was just the beginning.

THE UNWOMANLY FACE OF WAR

We do not know the reason why Alice Schalek stopped writing fiction and decided to become a full-time reporter, traveller, writer and photographer. At the time when she wrote her last work of fiction she was 35 years old. It is reasonable to believe that she decided to follow a career that was promising a regular income rather than a financially uncertain artistic path, especially after her father Heinrich's death in 1907. She was able to find steady work, of intellectual nature; nevertheless, she produced in the frequency and style that could be compared to mechanic repetition, labour. Her articles differed from the books she had written, they were much simpler and plainer, and if compared to her work as a fiction writer, they did not really problematize any social topics; they merely entertained on a very simple level. Nonetheless, she seemed to have gained recognition progressively and the readers, generally speaking, liked her. Five years later, when World War I broke out, she was invited as one of only two women reporters[6] to the k. u. k. Kriegspressequartier (KPQ), the central propaganda institution of the

5 Originally, the quote stems from Henrik Ibsen's famous play *The Wild Duck* (1884). Schalek's collection *Das Fräulein* also deals with the question of how difficult is it for a single woman to survive in a male-dominated world.
6 The other female reporter was the Hungarian writer Margit Vészi (Bachinger, 2016, 168).

Austro-Hungarian armed forces during World War I.[7] She saw this as a great career opportunity; she was accepted to the elite society of artists[8] whose job obligation was to promote the success of the Austro-Hungarian armed forces and to awake patriotic sentiments in their readership. The KPQ selected eight of the most important Austrian and eight of the most important Hungarian newspapers that could employ reporters to report exclusively about the war. It is a peculiarity of Austria-Hungary that from the outset of the war efforts were made to place cultural workers in the propagandist services (Bachinger, 2016, 173). The reason why Alice Schalek as a woman was entrusted with such an exceptional ideological role is also connected to her close relationship with Maximilian von Hoen, who was in charge of the KPQ between 1914 and 1917. They kept a lifelong contact.

When Alice Schalek started working for the KPQ, she was 40 years old and had more than 10 years of experience as a travel reporter. Along with works of fiction, she also published several travelogues: *Von Tunis nach Tripolis* (1906), *Indienbummel* (1912), and *Südsee-Erlebnis* (1914). Her first war reports from the Italian front were written as entertaining travelogues from *the land of war*; she perceived war as an excitement and a big adventure. She glorified the war and the Austrian troops. This may seem disturbing, but at the same time this was precisely her task: the KPQ's role was to produce propaganda and she did her best to reproduce the perfect ideology. She was not naïve about her role, which is clear from her letter to Maximilian von Hoen in September 1916, when she wrote: "It is questionable whether in February the Isonzo front can still be a propaganda object."[9] To Alice Schalek, one of the most brutal battlefields of World War I was not a tragedy, not an example of war brutality – but merely an ideological battlefield.[10] Despite the fact that her excitement about the war decreased in the year 1916 and that during the Isonzo Front she even questioned the war itself (the ideology of the monarchy became much more distant), she remained faithful to the propaganda that employed her. It is also important to remember that before the war she was famous for her lightweight and entertaining articles; as an author she was trained and educated to become a journalist who pleases her readership, just as girls in schools were educated to please the men in their lives. She had to be likable in order to be read and to keep her job. As she became a war correspondent in 1914, she did not know any other way of journalistic writing. Besides, people in general seemed to approve of her work: her most tendentious book *Tirol in Waffen* was sold in 6,000 copies (Bachinger, 1990, 93). She was not only popular as a writer but also as a lecturer:

7 Some war reporters were accredited by their newspapers (for instance Sofia Casanova) and others, especilally Austrians, by the KPQ, the military organ itself. Schalek was a lifelong friend of Maximilian Ritter von Hoen, who helmed the KPQ between 1914 and 1917. This friendship was propably useful for her position.

8 Including, inter alia, Robert Musil, Egon Erwin Kisch, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Rainer Maria Rilke, Ferenc Molnar, Stefan Zweig, Franz Werfel, etc.

9 AT-OeStA, KA, BL46 (B), Alice Schalek's letter to Hoen, 22 September 1916.

10 Nevertheless, her later book about Isonzo questioned the war, as did her articles, which were written at the time. There is a vast difference between her writings about Tirol and her writings about Isonzo.

she was the first woman to lecture in *Urania* in Vienna and Berlin, and her Isonzo lectures only were attended by more than 40,000 people in upwards of 20 cities (Rapp, 1999, 30–31). Her role was to listen to the officers' dry reports and turn them into attractive stories. And she was good at performing her role.

Her first war book entitled *Tirol in Waffen* was dedicated to Maximilian von Hoen; it is evident from this gesture, as well as from her letters, that she appreciated the role he had in her life. She also made it clear, why she took her role in the KPQ – because she wanted to have a career as a lecturer and to write books.[11] But once von Hoen lost his position in the KPQ in 1917, Alice Schalek was promptly no longer wanted as one of the Empire's propagandists. Hoen's departure was not the only concern that threatened her employment. Calls for her to be banned from working as a war correspondent grew louder and came from different directions.

In *The Last Days of Mankind*, written during World War I and published in 1918, Alice Schalek[12] was portrayed as a caricature of a woman journalist, who was unaware of the world around her. Deadlines and excitement are all that matters to her; she finds her work more important than other people's lives. However, we have to keep in mind that Karl Kraus was often a supporter of conservative ideas and had certain reservations about modernity, especially when it came to his relationship towards women. However, gendered rhetoric was nothing unusual at the beginning of the 20th century. The difference between men and women was believed to be a natural and unquestionable fact. Kraus believed in the difference between the *sexual* woman and *intellectual* man, and he often made fun of women who dared to speak publicly, such as Bertha von Suttner and Bertha Zuckerkandl (Klaus, 2008, 78). To him, Alice Schalek, a female war correspondent, was an intolerable liberal novelty. A similar position towards Alice Schalek had deputies of the Austrian Christian Social Party (Christlichsoziale Partei), who filed a complaint to the defence minister against her work in 1917 for the reason that she enjoys engaging in "the female sensationalism and adventures" where "men take pleasure in their duty to suffer for their fatherland" (Rapp, 1999, 33). This distinction already reminds us of the prescribed gender stereotypes, in which men are taken seriously in their attempt to fight and women are mocked for taking the tragedy too light-heartedly. However, the conservatives were not the only ones to oppose Schalek's work as a war-reporter. The socialist *Arbeiter Zeitung*[13] started criticizing her back in 1915, in the same year as Karl Kraus[14], as she was reporting from Belgrade; they were triggered by her overly propagandist description of Belgrade and ironically named

11 AT-OeStA/KA, NL 46 (B), Alice Schalek's letter to Erwin Zeidler [June 1918].

12 In *The last Days of Mankind* Alice Schalek is mentioned in 11 scenes. In *Die Fackel* 14 long articles about her were published between 1915 and 1931. Additionally, there were also 77 short reports about her in the same publication (Klaus, 2008, 73).

13 In 1905 Alice Schalek published her feuilleton entitled *Ehrlich, sittsam und treu* (Honest, Modest and Loyal) in *Arbeiter Zeitung*. It was one of her rare literary pieces that dealt with the life of a working-class woman (her protagonist was a governess, a typical figure of the fin de siecle (Viennese) literature).

14 Karl Kraus wrote about Alice Schalek for the first time in October 1915 (*Die Fackel*, 5 October 1915, 15–17).

her “Lady the War Reporter”. They were outraged because of the way she condemned Serbs and described them as culturally inferior[15]; however, at the end of the article they pointed out that they used to read her travelogues with pleasure, which made them even more surprised by the tone used in her reports from Belgrade.[16] They believed she did not even know what she was writing about.[17] A month later *Arbeiter Zeitung* published her response. She emphasized that she had always been fond of this newspaper that “fought for freedom and equality”, but she believed the accusations towards her were made just because she was a woman. In her opinion, it is not important whether a war reporter is a man or a woman: before the war no one had experienced anything even comparable and therefore a male reporter could not be better suited for writing than she was.[18] The newspaper replied in the same issue that their complaint was not about her gender but her work. Apparently, they were always on the side of women’s emancipation.[19]

Although we can believe that socialists felt resentment towards the war and therefore despised Alice Schaleck’s involvement in the KPQ more than they resented her gender, it is clear from other newspapers that her “feminine characteristics” were the most upsetting thing for the majority of her opponents. Most of the complaints about her are described with the same words and phrases that were also used in her interpellation. In that document one can read that she was “eager of thrill”[20] and had “the thirst of adventure that is one of the most primitive female instincts.”[21] How important her gender and her supposedly feminine qualities were is also clear from the following excerpt:

> *This emancipated un-woman*[22]*, who relives herself in the feuilleton section, has been offered the opportunity to liberate her nerves by photographing corpses and to tour with her lectures through half a hundred cities* [...].[23]

15 Karl Kraus had the same resentment towards her. He disliked the way Serbs were demonised by the media.

16 *Arbeiter Zeitung* referred to the article entitled Die Erstürmung published in *Neue Freie Presse* on 21 October 1915. She wrote: “Now, when out of awful necessity you wander through Belgrade‘s confused network of streets [...] as a prejudice-free observer, before this artless imitation of a fifth-class Central--European provincial town, an inexpressible sense of amazement rises in you as to how enormous the power of words is: how was it possible to convince the inhabitants of this dull [...] city [...] that they could bring culture to the nation that built Stephansdom?” It is clear from her writing how seriously she took her role as a propaganda writer and it gets even clearer in the next part when she describes the military superiority of Austrian troops.

17 *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 24 October 1915: Dem Fräulein Schalek hat Belgrad nicht imponiert, 5. The descriptions of the battlefield and superiority of the Austrian army (without mentioning the Allies) does in fact seem unconvincing and partly fictional.

18 *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 26 November 1915: Die Kriegsberichtstätterin, 8.

19 *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 26 November 1915: Die Kriegsberichtstätterin, 8.

20 The term *Sensationslust* is used.

21 WBR, TP 045764/1: Haus der Abgeordneten – 19. Sitzung der XXII. Xxx am 13. Juli 1917, Anfrage.

22 The term *Unweib*, unwoman, is used.

23 *Bosnische Post*, 28 September 1917: Eine Interpellation über Fräulein Alice Schalek, 4.



Fig. 1: The Kaiser (Charles I of Austria) in conversation with Alice Schalek at the Isonzo Front (Das interessante Blatt, 28. 6. 1917, 4).

According to the interpellation and what was written about her, she was at the same time not womanly enough (she was unmarried, independent, and practised a profession that was at the time regarded as an extremely "masculine" one) and rendered incompetent due to her "female features" (curiosity, naivety, nervousness, vanity). Ironically, she was well aware of these double standards and she had already described them in her pre-war fiction.[24]

Alice Schalek embodied several conflicts; not because of the way she was, but because of what she dared. Karl Kraus, who also pejoratively called her

24 The character of misogynist Heinz Troll in her novel *Schmerzen der Jugend* sarcastically describes the only type of woman that he does not scorn: "I can only have a small appreciation for unwomen who push themselves out of their role, assigned by nature." (Schalek, 1909, 157). Then again, in *Wann wird es tagen?*, the character Otto states the opposite about emancipated women: "They don't use all their powers to please, and a woman who does not rejoice when she pleases is an abnormal, crippled organism." (Schalek, 1902, 144). With some historical irony, one can recognize the self-fulfilling prophecy that accompanied Alice Schalek's life: she was always too much or too little of a woman or too much or too little of a man.

“an unwoman”[25], wrote: “It has become possible for our public to be given the obscene diary sheets of a woman[26] that knows no other way to stimulate her femininity than in the field of honour.”[27]

Stimulation of femininity in this context has an implicit sexual connotation that could be perceived as dishonourable for a woman of her generation, especially when unmarried. The same goes for his scornful use of the word *Mannweib*, unwoman. It is clear from the quote that Karl Kraus was not trying to write a critique of Alice Schalek but was shaming her personally. He was triggered by her role in the public sphere; however, the way he wrote about her was predominantly personal. In July 1916 Alice Schalek filed a lawsuit against this particular article and its author. She sued him for public abatement and contempt and for violation of her personal honour. In her statement of grounds, she claimed that her profession of a war correspondent was attributed to “erotic and sensual motifs” and she believed that her “female qualities were attacked and were shown as if she was drawn to immoral and dishonourable behaviour.”[28] The lawsuit between both authors was not complete until the end of the war.

Alice Schalek stayed on the Isonzo front as long as she could. She wrote her last article about Trieste[29]; and she remained true to her propaganda mission.[30] She lost her job in the late 1917 due to the public pressure and personnel changes in the KPQ. She was devastated and convinced she did not deserve that. She believed that the conservatives plotted against her and convinced simple people to sign an interpellation against her. She wrote to Erwin Zeidler von Görz that the interpellation was signed by “farmers from small villages, innkeepers, men who were pouring out schnapps and fire-fighters, who of course had never read or heard a word from me.”[31] Her return to Vienna was followed by a severe illness that lasted for two years. In that time, she quit lecturing and her writings were rare. She focused on non-political travelogues about America, India, and Italy. She seems to have felt humiliated and forgotten. And largely forgotten was also the part of her life that followed after the war.

25 He used the word *Mannweib*, a pejorative term signifying an unfeminine woman, a manly woman.

26 He used the archaic pejorative term *Frauenzimmer*.

27 *Die Fackel*, May 1916, 18.

28 The whole trial was published in the February issue of *Die Fackel* in 1920 (Year 21, No. 521–530). The quote was taken from p. 11.

29 *Neue Freie Presse*, 24 August 1917: Triest im Kriege, 7.

30 In her last article as a war correspondent she wrote about the city’s Austrian character and made plans for its bright and Austrian future. The city lacked Austrian patriotism, she noticed, and she believed that much is to be done in order to make it fully Austrian. She hoped Austrian and German investors will take over the city and enable it its true character. Schalek’s reporting from the Isonzo Front and Gorizia, as well as her description of Trieste, shows that one of the foundations of propaganda was to ignore any existing national tensions. Although national tensions in the Northern Adriatic caused fundamental political and social shifts before World War I, the propagandist Alice Schalek did her best to ignore them.

31 AT-OeStA/KA, NL 46 (B), Alice Schalek’s letter to Erwin Zeidler [undated].

WHAT'S IN A NAME

It took Alice Schalek a while to return to the public sphere after the war was over. In April 1919 several Austrian newspapers published a notice that Alice Schalek will, "after two years of serious illness"[32] deliver a lecture in Urania, where she will speak about her memories of the front and show some photos. A day later a note was published, claiming that the interest for her lecture was so vast that it will be repeated. In the years to follow she again held several lectures that sparked the broader public's interest. She also began to write more regularly. She remained interesting to her readers and listeners, as well as remembered by her opponents. Her name stood for a certain type of a woman, who dared to exist as a public person. Back in July 1919 we can read in the newspaper *Der neue Tag* that "after the war was over, Alice Schalek seems to have returned from the underworld."[33] Then the newspaper described her as an "admirer of hysterical militarism[34]"[35]; however, as we continue reading the article, we realize it is in fact about a completely different woman, as they write: "what difference does it make that she now names herself a communist and uses a different name, Elfriede Friedländer[36]." To them, they are both the same person: "Before she wrote that it was justice for Belgrade to be destroyed during the war because it was not cultivated enough, and today she writes that she would not shed a tear for Tyrol, because it is not communist enough."[37] Names are not important, argued the author of the article, since both women are the same person: "What do we need names for, if we have the type? Alice Schalek is dead, long live Fritzi Freiländer!"[38]

Alice Schalek and Elfriede Freiländer were in fact not that similar at all; especially not in the year 1919. The only thing they had in common was that both of them dared to step out into the public, traditionally male-dominated sphere. The author of the article lets the reader know that all emancipated and educated women who address questions that have traditionally been reserved for men, such as war and politics, are the same person, the same *type,* that deserves to be mocked. This incident also shows that her reputation preceded her and made her name a trademark that was partly separated from her. Just like in the theatre play by Kraus, in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* during the war, in the interpellation – and also here, we can see that her name represented her more than her work; many people heard of her, but not many of them actually read her.

32 For instance, in *Neues Wiener Journal*, 16 April 1919, but also in other newspapers in the same week.
33 *Der Neue Tag*, 7 July 1919: Ein Paar Worte, 3.
34 Probably a wordplay for "historical materialism".
35 *Der Neue Tag*, 7 July 1919: Ein Paar Worte, 3.
36 Elfriede Freiländer alias Elfriede Eisler alias Ruth Fischer (1895–1961) was a co-founder of the Austrian Communist Party in 1918 and a notable communist activist.
37 *Der Neue Tag*, 7 July 1919: Ein Paar Worte, 3.
38 *Der Neue Tag*, 7 July 1919: Ein Paar Worte, 3.

Despite her war-time experience and the disappointment that followed, she never regretted she was part of it; she reminded her readers over and over again about the war as if there was nothing she could be ashamed of. This suggests that she saw her involvement in the war as the highlight of her career and that she did not want to give her critics the pleasure of hiding the past they were so fiercely attacking. Despite the fact that she did not hide her involvement in the war, she also seemed to have changed her opinion of it. We can see that for the first time in an interview with Jane Addams in 1919. In the introduction she wrote that "the four powers could have prevented the World War, but they failed: the Church, social democracy, art, and women." She goes on to say that there has only been one woman who clearly opposed the war, namely Jane Addams. Alice Schalek welcomes her internationalism ("It is easy to be national; you just have to be born in order to become a nationality. It us much harder to be international, because it forces you to rid yourself of egoism."[39]) She only used superlatives to describe Jane Addams and she seemed to have shared her pacifist and anti-nationalist positions. Of course Schalek's change of narrative did not go unnoticed. *Arbeiter Zeitung* mocked her the next day, writing that "the courage of Fräulein Schalek – man could also name this something else –, to write those sentences, is unbelievable." They reminded their readers, and also her, how tasteless her reports during the war were and that as a war correspondent she never took the pacifist or antinationalist position.[40]

But one cannot say that Alice Schalek's attitudes towards war changed drastically; they simply depended on her interlocutor. About a year after her interview with Jane Addams, *Neue Freie Presse* published her memories of Field Marshal Svetozar Boroević. The reason behind her article was the death of this field marshal, who made a name for himself on the Isonzo Front (she dedicated her book *Am Isonzo* to him as well). As evident from her writings during the war, they had a good relationship and she was still very fond of him in 1920. The article about him is written in a different tone than that about Jane Addams, here she cherished his patriotism ("There was no place of greater patriotism and heroism than in the Isonzo battles.")[41] and masculinity. She also emphasised that he himself censored every article she wrote and was a very accurate reader; but apparently, he only cared about the fact-checking, the ideological censure happened, according to Schalek, only in Vienna.[42]

However, what soon becomes clear in Alice Schalek's post-war writings is that she, just as she it was the case during the war, remained perpetually amazed. This is especially obvious in interviews; she always seems to adore her interviewees and never questions their statements. One can, however, also notice that war made

39 *Neue Freie Presse*, 21 May 1919: Jane Addams. Die Frau, die Präsident Fehrebach sucht, 3.
40 *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 22 May 1919: Die Kriegsberichttätterin, 5.
41 *Neue Freie Presse*, 12 June1920: Ein Mann. Persönliches von Boroevic, 2.
42 *Neue Freie Presse*, 12 June1920: Ein Mann. Persönliches von Boroevic, 3.

her more sensible to the questions of social justice, which is especially obvious in her interest in the position of women. Some authors (Rapp, 1999, 34; Bachinger, 2016, 187) argue that her postwar writings reveal even certain socialist positions, but I will return to the question of her ideology later.

In the 1920s, she penned many articles for many different Austrian newspapers, especially for *Neue Freie Presse*, but also for *Moderne Welt*, *Neues Wiener Journal*, and a few other papers. Being a working woman was extremely important to her; she was even one of the founders of the Federal Association of Working Women in Austria and was very active in several other women's organisations. She was not only a worker, but an "intellectual worker", as she liked to refer to herself. In March 1920 she published an article about the Danish funding that was supposed to financially help intellectuals all around the world. In the introduction, she wrote: "It is well known that the so-called[43] intellectual worker is the real victim of the world war, not only in the defeated but also in the victorious countries [...]."[44] And we can feel in her afterwar writings that she tries to publish more and more, since she was probably financially dependent on every article she wrote and every lecture she held. The twenties are the years when she seemed to have worked constantly and she wrote hundreds of articles.

Alice Schalek was rarely directly politically engaged, especially when it came to the Austrian politics, but she wrote more freely when it came to political questions abroad. Her report from Trieste in July 1921 is among articles that are especially interesting in the early twenties. What strikes the reader the most is the fluid understanding of politics and its context. She opened the article with a political description of the city and wrote about the dangers of fascism:

> *It is a mortal shock for communists that their opponents can call themselves "the party of order" and can be elected, although in reality they are adding to disorder and nobody really agrees with them. Their side programme is D'Annunzio's nationalistic propaganda and the complete ownership of the "Mare Nostro", which makes even the level-headed Italians uneasy.*[45]

One could easily take this excerpt for an opening of a political article or even assume that Schalek was approaching socialist ideas. However, in the further course of the same article she also addressed other topics that seem to be the direct opposite of the sentiment stated above. She wrote about Italian soldiers strolling around the city and Italian flags that were seen everywhere. She light-heartedly discussed prices and compared the price of a silk dress in Vienna and Trieste. She described fruit and vegetables available at the farmer's market in Trieste. She let the readers know how walking down

43 In German "sogenannte geistige Arbeiter". More about the connotation of the term "*the so-called*" in connection to intellectuals in Collini, 2006.

44 *Neues Wiener Journal*, 7 March 1920: Eine beginnende Internationalle der Geistigkeit, 3.

45 *Neue Freie Presse*, 15 July 1921: Momentbilder von der Adria, 1.

the streets of Trieste made her feel her "Austrian heart" and she described how Austrian monuments were nowhere to be found. She was sad to see the shipping company Austrian Lloyd being renamed Lloyd Triestino and she compared the names of ships and realised how none of them any longer bears an Austrian name. Her last report from the war was about Trieste and the "Austrian nature" of the city – and in 1921 we can see she that was still trying to hold on to the Habsburg heritage. A part of her mental map was, at least emotionally, still connected to the old empire. Nonetheless, she also spent a great deal of the article describing the greatness of Lloyd Triestino and business success of the company. At the end she softly returned to politics. She emphasised that Italians no longer hate Austrians and wrote:

> *This politically most ardent people of Europe have evidently risen above all phases and have now realized that the problem of the future is not a fight against Germany but a much more difficult struggle against the Slavs and the possession of the Adriatic*.[46]

The article about Trieste is a good example of Alice Schalek's post-war writing – just as she starts getting political, she changes the topic and her political convictions are not fully articulated, which makes her ideological development hard to follow. A meticulous reader cannot overlook ideological contradictions in her writing: at the beginning she describes the threat that fascism poses to communists, but later enthusiastically writes about Lloyd, one of Trieste's capitalist strongholds. We can assume that her fondness of Lloyd was partly also filled with nostalgia; the company must have reminded her of the Habsburg times.

In general, she seems to be fonder of cruise ships than political ideology. An interesting example is her portrait of Hugo Stinnes, published in the Christmas edition of *Neue Freie Presse* in 1923. He was a prominent German capitalist and conservative, also a founding member of the Deutsche Volkspartei (German People's Party), the former National Liberal Party. Her interview with him was amicable; she described him as a pleasant man, who laughs a lot, is a hard-working hero and a saviour of Germany. She did dare to ask him about his most notorious positions, such as opposing the 8-hour workday, conflicts with trade unions, and his speculation with inflation (he borrowed vast sums in Reichsmarks during the inflation in the Weimar Republic and repaid his loans in nearly worthless currency), but let him form his own statements without debating him. It is clear from her introduction that she was aware of his reputation and stated that he is a notorious person, about whom people like to talk, just as they do about Lenin or D'Annunzio.[47] In the article one can read that Stinnes did not believe in the concept of the 8-hour workday, but he argued that "everyone has to work until they earn enough to make a living" and that "he himself works all his waking hours".[48] He

46 *Neue Freie Presse*, 15 July 1921: Momentbilder von der Adria, 3.
47 *Neue Freie Presse*, 25 December 1923: Hugo Stinnes. Ein Porträt, 3.
48 *Neue Freie Presse*, 25 December 1923: Hugo Stinnes. Ein Porträt, 4.

also believed that he prevented bolshevism in Germany by providing jobs. At the end of the article Alice Schalek wrote that his goal in life was "to save a part of Germany through his own work."[49] He was presented as some sort of a saviour, a mythical figure, and even compared to Lenin. It is hard to make sense of this analogy: was it ironic or coincidental? Was she fond of the conservative industrialist? Did she want to express her ideological centrism and withdraw herself from any radical positions? Was it a provocation for her readers?[50]

The answer to this question becomes clear a few years later. In 1925, when her essay collection about Japan was published (*Japan: Das Land des Nebeneinander*), she dedicated the book to no other than Hugo Stinnes. Even later in the 1920s she often wrote fondly of his steamers, she would sometimes even mention them in the subtitle of her travelogues.[51] As she often mentioned Lloyd' cruise ships as well, we can assume that this was a sort of compensation, namely free travel in exchange for public exposure.

However, Stinnes was not the only important German industrialist interviewed by Alice Schalek. In the late 1920s, starting in 1927, she also portrayed Kurt Sorge (from Friedrich Krupp AG), Paul Reusch (Guttegoffnungshütte, GHH), Felix Deutsch (AEG), Carl Bosch (IG Farbenindustrie), and many other less prominent but also important industrialists and businessmen of her time. Schalek's attitude towards them did not change until the end of the twenties. She sought to find their best and most human characteristics. What most of them had in common was that their companies were not part of Vereinigte Stahlwerke (United Steelworks), a German industrial conglomerate founded in 1926. The ideology behind the majority of men reproduced by Alice Schalek could be referred to as *economic individualism*.[52]

Even more than by businessmen Alice Schalek was fascinated by industrialisation; she named Bochumer Verein "an industrial marvel", adored facilities for workers and even for people with disabilities, but missed more dwelling units for families. Nonetheless, she was amazed how "this beaten and demeaned Germany is admirable in the quiet further development of its old efficiency, entrepreneurship, and proficiency."[53] She also added that the facility is a shining example of hot to revive an area. Her fresh obsession with the industrialisation is traceable in other articles as well. A few days later *Neue Freie Presse* published her admiration of the Westphalian industrial area that was matched by that expressed in the article about Bochau.[54]

---

49 *Neue Freie Presse*, 25 December 1923: Hugo Stinnes. Ein Porträt, 5.

50 She definitely provoked *Arbeiter Zeitung*; they despised the way she wrote about Stinnes, just as they scorned her war reporting. They clearly saw him as an enemy of the working class (see for instance *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 30 December 1923, 4).

51 For instance, when she travelled to Brazil in 1926 (see *Neue Freie Presse*, 11 February 1926).

52 This is best described in her interview with Kurt Sorge, as he argued that "In my opinion, the current catchphrase of co-working within countries and also within the world goes too far. It is absolutely not yet proven that mergers can save the economy. Who should determine the limits? The limitlessness of this idea leads straight to the utopia or to state socialism, which in my opinion would be the obstacle to all profitability and progress." (*Neue Freie Presse*, 9. January 1927: Grenzen der Nationalisierung, 2).

53 *Neue Freie Presse*, 25 January 1927: Ein industrielles Wunderwerk, 3.

54 *Neue Freie Presse*, 3 February 1927: Durch das Westfälische Industriegebiet, 3.

At this point one can already discern a pattern: she trusted her interlocutors, seeking to portray them as pleasant as possible. In her interviews she never revealed her belief system, she seems to have always agreed with her interviewees. It is similar to feuilletons; her tone is exually excited when she writes about the Japanese fashion, the war or factories. However, the biggest question here is how the transition to the 1930s transformed her into a convicted communist? The abovementioned examples demonstrate that she did not show any sympathy towards socialism or even communism. Her profiles of businessmen and industrialists are anything but socialist. She also kept her writings about women's emancipation on the level of lifestyle: in 1925 she wrote about how too many women in Vienna wear their hair long (although "Bubikopf" peaked in Vienna and in Berlin at the time), how they should drive cars like they do in the USA or take care of their own entrepreneurship.[55]

However, the 1920s came to an end and at the beginning of the 1930s she published three fiction books in the Soviet Union. Following more than two decades of writing non-fiction, she decided to revisit her artistic roots and address dekulakisation, for instance in *Der grosse Tag* (The Big Day 1930), or communist stories for children (*Pudel und Mops und andere Erzählungen für die Kleinen,* 1932). It was not unusual for Europeans of the thirties to sympathise with Stalinism, but it was unusual for Alice Schalek to make such a sharp left turn. The tone of her novel is clear from the beginning:

> *If only the poor organised themselves and followed the Communist Party* [...]. *We can now do what is absolutely necessary – namely to destroy the class of kulaks, a genuine contra-revolutionary clan standing in the way of building socialism.* (Schalek, 1930, 3)

It is hard to understand Schalek's transition, as it arrived suddenly and abruptly. And just as it appeared, it later disappeared. Apart from these books, there is no other evidence about her Stalinism, neither before nor after that. There is not even much evidence of her political convictions or ideological beliefs in general.

In 1939 she had to survive another transition, namely her emigration to the USA. She was arrested by the Gestapo for "Grauelpropaganda" for possessing photos of a carnival procession in Tel Aviv in 1935, which were considered to have mocked National Socialism. As documented in a Gestapo report, she made a photo album of a few of these photos and planned to take it abroad. These were the same photos that she had already used for one of her lectures in Urania (1935) and the Gestapo predicted that she wanted to repeat her lecture as "Grauelpropaganda against German Reich". It is written at the end of the report that "the material was

55 *Neue Freie Presse*, 7 August 1925: Heimkehr nach Wien, 3; *Neues Wiener Journal*, 12 May 1934: Frauen am Volant, 6; *Die Österreicherin*, 11 March 1931: Als Gast bei Amerikanischen Berufsfrauen, 7.

secured" by the Gestapo (Krasny, 1999, 17).[56] This is probably also one of the reasons why these photos are nowhere to be found, since they were most likely destroyed. She managed to escape to New York via Switzerland with the help of the English PEN-club (Krasny, 1999, 16–17). She lived in the USA until her death in 1956 at the age of 82. There are not many documents from her American years to be found. In 1941, when she was 67 years old, she replied to Gertrud Redlich's letter (*née* Flaschar, 1896), Joseph Redlich's widow (they got married in 1919). She declined her invitation to take part in Ladies Committee, maintaining that she has no interest in giving money, collecting it or in political engagement. She emphasised that she is 67 years old and has to do everything herself:

> [...] *I have to save every penny, which means that I did not have a single hour of help in the last 13 months. With my 67 years, I do all the work myself: I have to type, but at the same time I also have to clean, iron, shop, cook, clean windows, sew, repair shoes and all other things!*[57]

She was also very clear about not wanting to do any political work or be publicly recognised. She wrote:

> *It is completely out of the question for me to do any political work, be it under complete anonymity without any contact with co-workers, who would definitely speak to their wives about me. And this is not how you keep a secret. I may not go public with my name under any circumstances.*[58]

And her name really did not appear publicly during her American years. A woman who spent most of her life fighting to be publicly heard spent her final 15 years in almost complete anonymity and silence. To this day, there are more questions than answers about her life.

QUALITIES IN AN INTELLECTUAL

Even in contemporary biographies it is hard to find a source that would take Alice Schalek for someone with intellectual capacities. In online Deutsche Biographie, a service jointly managed by the Historical Commission and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB), one can read that Schalek's writing is "attributed to the trivial literature." It is also pointed out that despite "Schalek's fundamental openness, the travel reports often hardly go beyond a Europocentric and superficial discussion." (Chrambach, 2005). The web portal 1914–1918, which was established by

56 The original document is reprinted in Krasny, 1999, 17 (and quoted as: Geheime Staatspolizei, Staatspolizeistelle Wien, Tagesrapport Nr. 2 vom 2. und 3. März 1939 (NA)).

57 ÖNB/HAN, 1452/13–16, Alice Schalek's letter to Gertrud Redlich, [1941].

58 ÖNB/HAN, 1452/13–16, Alice Schalek's letter to Gertrud Redlich, [1941].

the Austrian National Archive as a commemoration of the centenary of World War I, is critical towards her work and mentions in the first sentence of her profile that she is known "through the devastating criticism of Karl Kraus, especially because of her role in Karl Kraus' play."[59] Such contributions evoke the impression that Karl Kraus, the male intellectual, is an objective norm, even a historical judgement itself, whereas she is merely an object of an objective judgement, a historical footnote. In fact, as also shown earlier, the Karl Kraus' role in Schalek's life was anything but objective. And just as Schalek has some problematic elements in her professional and personal judgements, so does Karl Kraus; however, his are usually not mentioned in his biography (see online Deutsche Biographie) or at least not in the first sentences. Schalek's case is a good example that represents the perception of women intellectuals, the position they held in public and the way they are remembered (or, mostly, forgotten). It also evokes the question of what it meant to be an *intellectual* and what kind of ideological and gender bias is connected to this concept in the early 20th century, but also in today's historiography. Why is Alice Schalek as someone who reproduced[60] intellectual labour for more than 50 years not remembered as an *intellectual*? Does she fulfil any norm that historiography (along with sociology and other studies) has set for the definition of being an intellectual? There is no definite concept of *intellectual*: the term itself is vague and was at the beginning of the 20th century used in various cases, all of which have one thing in common. From the beginning onwards they excluded women, not necessary by definition but by the possibilities to achieve that definition. Some of the most important common highlights in the definition of intellectuals according to various authors (Weber, 1919; Mann, 1919; Lepsius, 1990; Said, 1996; Bourdieu, 2003; Fuller, 2005; Collini, 2006; Hübinger, 2006) are political engagement and/or intervention, radicalism, intellectual and personal autonomy, and eternal opposition. With the case of Alice Schalek I will seek to show how these definitions, despite the democratisation of the public space, could not apply to just anyone who practiced intellectual labour and was involved in the public debate. I will not focus on Alice Schalek's intellectual achievements but on her working conditions as an intellectual.

The fields of history of labour and history of intellectual labour are mostly separated. Intellectual achievements are often analysed as if they had occurred without any labour or the labour itself even serves anecdotal purposes only. It is still commonly believed that there is such thing as a work of genius or enormous talent which is separated from dull, mechanic, repetitive practice and labour. One ***is*** an intellectual, it is not something you practice, but something you are. As Ory and Sirinelli (1986) were defining the term *intellectual* in regard to the

59 http://wk1.staatsarchiv.at/frau-im-krieg/alice-schalek/#/?a=artefactgroup427.

60 Bernice A. Carrol (1990) claims in her essay *The Politics of Originality: Women and the Class System of the Intellect* that women are often, even when they have achieved extraordinary intellectual accomplishment, percieved only as systematizers, expositors, promoters and as such »retailers of ideas«.

Dreyfus affair, they claimed that the intellectual is not defined by his function or status (what he[61] *is*), but by his intervention in the political field (what he *does*). This can be applicable to Zola or any other established male writer of late nineteenth-century France: they *did* venture into political field, and could be successful in *doing* that, but this intervention is not something anyone could do. What was the possibility of women's intervention in the political field in late nineteenth-century Paris or Vienna? First you have to *be* something in order to *do* something and get your work acknowledged.

The history of intellectuals in France is almost entirely written by political historians (Collini, 2006, 49). It is not much different elsewhere; sometimes intellectuals are part of cultural history, but rarely social or even labour history. As if work (including working conditions, salary, equal opportunities, etc.) were not part of being an intellectual. The development and changes of Schalek's ideas, as well as her life trajectory described on previous pages, enable us to see where her life diverged from the dominant definition of an intellectual. From the beginning of the 20th century onwards intellectuals were associated with venture into politics, especially on behalf or a radical or even revolutionary cause. But radicalism is not an objective term; for the Russian *intelligentsia* it signifies something different than for the German *Intelligenz*, for a French bourgeoisie male intellectual it has a different connotation than for an Austrian woman writer without any formal education. Schalek's radicalism during World War I is often dismissed, not because she was not radical enough, but because her radicalism had a different form. Her radicalism occurred in public, in a male-dominated world, and this is a political intervention per se, partly even *revolutionary*, but was rarely acknowledged as such. However, radicalism and revolutionary commandment can also be taken more literally. Being a public intellectual is often linked to a leftist political orientation. In this case the slippages in judgment are also not treated with such seriousness (for instance, European intellectuals' flirtation with Stalinism and Maoism), but rather anecdotally, within the anti-capitalist discourse and value system.[62] As shown in this article, Alice Schalek had a shorter excursion into Stalinism, but it was a lonely ideological experiment rather than nurturing leftist thought. Her writings over the course of the twenties show that she was politically quite ambivalent and also unarticulated, and her views were relatively fluid and dependent on specific circumstances. (One could guess that ideological clarity and consistency in nurturing her leftist or revolutionary thoughts would also bring her a more lenient historical judgment.)

61 Only a masculine pronoun is used.

62 Vocal critics of intellectuals include Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman. In his article *The Intellectuals and Socialsim* (1949) Hayek claimed that intellectuals as a social class are attracted to socialism and social democracy, and Friedman (2017) maintained that intellectuals believe in freedom for themselves but oppose freedom for others and are therefore inclined towards socialism.

Pierre Bourdieu (2003) claims that opposing positions of the same person can also build an intellectual's autonomy: an intellectual is not supposed to be someone who is unwilling to change beliefs. Intellectuals were, claims Bourdieu, when they venture into political life with their position of special authority, based on belonging to the autonomous world of art, science and literature, and with all the values associated with that autonomy. Alice Schalek was a professional propagandist, whose intellectual labour reproduced Austria's national ideology during World War I. Later she was a propagandist of German industrials, luxurious cruise ships, *Bubikopf* and dekulakisation. This takes away her aura of autonomy, opposition, and devalues her intellectual work. However, it must be remembered that autonomy, like radicalism, has different forms, and above all, it is not equally accessible to all. As pointed out by Steven Fuller (2005, 113–114), it is easy to demonstrate autonomy if you come from a wealthy background. One could use the same point when it comes to gender at the beginning of the 20th century[63] – it is much harder to demonstrate autonomy if you are woman. But it would also be naïve to believe that male intellectuals were in fact an eternal opposition or personification of autonomy. The position of intellectuals as outsiders, as argued by Collini (2006, 61), is "pure romanticization" that suggests sort of independence and above all – purity. In fact, the most well-known and usually self-proclaimed outsiders are those who were well connected, reviewed, excepted and cherished (just think of George Orwell or Jean Paul Sartre, to name a few of them). An unmarried female intellectual worker of the early 20th century could be nothing but an outsider, but at the same time if she wanted to support herself, she could not afford to be one. It is obvious from what Schalek wrote throughout the twenties how desperate she was to please her readers (as well as her interlocutors and editors). She did not want to stand out and be provocative. Her early writings, especially fiction, were much more daring and engaged than her journalistic work. This reminds us of Virginia Woolf, who often emphasised that where the truth is of utmost importance one should write fiction (Woolf, 1977; 2011). Alice Schalek articulated her truth about women, education, work, art, and marriage in her early books; what she produced afterwards was pure labour.

It was almost impossible for a woman of Schalek's generation to be known as an intellectual. Even if women were proclaimed intellectuals, the term was not neutral, it was usually ironic, incompatible with their gender. We are familiar with the pejorative term *blue stocking* (*Blaustrumpf, bas-bleu*) and even have Flaubert's (1913) definition of it; *bas-bleu* is a term of contempt to designate any woman who is interested in intellectual things (Flaubert, 2010, 124). To be an intellectual, a woman had to lose her gender, as made clear by the case of Alice Schalek during World War I. Many such cases are known in fiction as well. H. G. Wells published his novel about the "New Woman" Ann Veronica in 1909. In the novel, which was at the time regarded as scandalous, the protagonist's

63 Or race or any minority.

sister warns her not to become “one of those unsexed intellectuals, neither man nor woman.” (Wells, 1909, 99).

When discussing concepts, in our case the concept of the intellectual, we construct realities that tend to be more exclusive than inclusive. In these concepts intellectuals can only be people with many qualities: academic, artistic, personal, moral, and maybe even financial. Such people never exist, they are only constructed by themselves and others. Just as the past never only exists, we have to construct it, and what is even harder, strive for its deconstruction.

Robert Musil’s protagonist Ulrich, the man without qualities and Alice Schalek’s imagined contemporary in Vienna, failed to grasp the reality of modernity over and over again. His character was, just as Schalek’s life and work, dependent on the outer world and its ever-changing conditions. To name Alice Schalek a woman without qualities, tells us something about her, but even more about the world in which she lived.

CONCLUSION

There were three main purposes of this article: to portray the intellectual and ideological development of Alice Schalek in the years after World War I, to analyse prejudices and obstacles that she had to overcome due to her gender, as well as to shed light on the concept of intellectual work, especially characteristics of the term intellectual.

In order to do this, the article illustrates Alice Schalek’s life trajectory, which is relatively poorly researched due to limited access to sources, especially her transitions after World War I. The article fills in some biographical gaps; however, for a more detailed biography, we unfortunately lack available biographical sources that most likely disappeared upon her abrupt emigration to the United States in 1939.

According to other researches, Alice Schalek slowly radicalized after World War I until she became a communist in the early 1930s. Analysing Schalek’s articles in the twenties, the research shows that one cannot speak of such ideological development, since her intellectual work remains fluid, without a clear record of a certain worldview. Selected articles show that she also defended diametrically opposed positions: nationalism, internationalism, classical liberalism, pan-European movement, capitalism, militarism, pacifism, etc. Her radical turn to the left is surprising or unexpected and can only be conceived from her writing; unfortunately, there are no other sources to confirm her *weltanschauung*.

The attitude towards women’s intellectual work was evident when Schalek was a war reporter during World War I and immediately afterwards. Her gender and qualities attributed to the female gender played a role in the devaluation of her work. Over time attacks were less and less common, but she never interfered with men’s occupations to the extent that she did during World War I. The case of Alice Schalek showed how a woman who sought to establish herself intellectu-

ally in the early 20th century was restricted by her gender: on the one hand, her "feminine qualities" impeded her from professional intellectual work, and on the other, her opponents rejected her femininity and taunted her as a man.

The last part of the article illustrates how the female gender was incompatible with the concept of the term intellectual in the early twentieth century; both historiographical and sociological definitions make it, at least implicitly, impossible for women to obtain the status of an intellectual. According to the existing literature, the main attributes of intellectuals include political articulation in the public space, radicalism, personal autonomy, and intellectual opposition. But when these specific qualities are analysed, we can see that they are not equally accessible to everyone. The main focus of the article were therefore not Alice Schalek's intellectual achievements, but rather conditions under which she had to practice intellectual labour.

In conclusion, the article suggests that historiography should redefine the concept of intellectuals in a more inclusive way and come up with criteria and qualities that are equally accessible to all who practiced intellectual labour. However, in order to establish a new concept, we first need to focus our research on particular cases of women and minority intellectual workers and the reasons why they were left out of the predominant historiographical narratives. Many studies of this kind have already been accomplished in the recent years, but there are many more to come.

ŽENSKA BREZ POSEBNOSTI? INTELEKTUALNO DELO IN ŽENSKE INTELEKTUALKE NA PRIMERU ALICE SCHALEK

Manca G. RENKO
Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska Fakulteta, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: manca.renko@gmail.com

POVZETEK

Članek se posveča Alice Schalek (1874–1956), avstrijski pisateljici, novinarki in fotografinji, ki je bila med prvo svetovno vojno tudi vojna dopisnica z več front, med drugim tudi soške. Njeno življenje in delo sta razmeroma dobro raziskana do konca prve svetovne vojne, nato pa se je historiografsko zanimanje zanjo nekoliko izgubilo. Članek skuša z razpoložljivimi viri (nekatera pisma hranita Avstrijski državni arhiv in Avstrijska narodna knjižnica, analizirane pa so bile tudi njene knjige ter časopisni članki, ki jih je napisala sama ali pa govorijo o njej) zapolniti nekatere biografske vrzeli, predvsem pa se posveča njenemu ideološkemu razvoju in intelektualnemu delu po prvi svetovni vojni. Ali jo je prva svetovna vojna radikalizirala ter se je v dvajsetih letih čedalje bolj približevala marksizmu, dokler ni v tridesetih postala komunistka? Kako je potekala njena povojna tranzicija? Kakšen je bil njen politični in družbeni angažma? V zadnjem delu članek pozornost namenja odnosu historiografije do statusa “intelektualca” ter intelektualnega dela. Kriteriji in posebnosti, ki naj bi intelektualcem podeljevali njihov status in zgodovinopisno obravnavo, so, kakor se pokaže tudi na primeru Alice Schalek, razmeroma izključujoči oziroma dostopni le določenemu tipu mislecev, zato ni nenavadno, da ženske ali predstavniki manjšin kljub prakticiranju intelektualnega dela niso bile upravičene do statusa “intelektualcev”.

Ključne besede: Alice Schalek, intelektualne tranzicije, intelektualno delo, spol, prva svetovna vojna

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

AT-OeSta/KA – Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, NL46 (B) Maximilian Ritter von Hoen.

Arbeiter-Zeitung. Wien, 1889–1989.

Bachinger, B. (2015): Alice Schalek. Standpunkte einer Kriegsberichterstatterin im Ersten Weltkrieg. In: Colpan, S. et al. (eds.): Kulturmanöver. Das k. u. k. Kriegspressequartier und die Mobilisierung von Wort und Bild. Münster, Peter Lang, 65–78.

Bachinger, B. (2016): Weibliche Kriegsberichtstattung. Alice Schalek im k. u. k. Kriegspressequartier. In: Gerdes, A. M. & M. Fischer (eds.): Der Krieg und die Frauen. Geschlecht und populäre Literatur im Ersten Weltkrieg. Münster, Waxmann, 167–188.

Bachinger, U. (1990): Alice Schalek – Feministin(?), Kriegsberichtstätterin(?), Revolutionärin (?). Thesis. Salzburg, University of Salzburg.

Beauvoir, S. (2013): Drugi spol. Ljubljana, Založba Krtina.

Bosnische Post. Sarajevo, 1884–1918.

Bourdieu, P. (2003): Sociologija kot politika. Ljubljana, Založba *cf.

Carrol, B. A. (1990): The Politics of Originality: Women and the Class System of the Intellect. Journal of Women's History, 2, 2, 136–163.

Chrambach, E. (2005): Schalek, Alice. In: Neue Deutsche Biographie, Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 22, 548–549. Https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd120729466.html#ndbcontent (last access: 01.04.2020).

Collini, S. (2006): Absent Minds. Intellectuals in Britain. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Der Neue Tag. Wien, 1919–1920.

Die Fackel. Wien, 1899–1936.

Die Österreicherin. Wien, 1928–1936.

Farrar, M. (1998): News from the Front: War Correspondents 1914–1918. Sutton, Sutton Publishing Ltd.

Flaubert, G. (2010): Slovar splošno priznanih resnic. Ljubljana, Modrijan.

Friedman, M. (2017): A Reason Interview. In: Leeson, R. & C. G. Palm (eds.): Milton Friedman on Freedom. Selections from The Collected Works of Milton Friedman. Stanford University, Hoover Institution Press, 69–93.

Fuller, S. (2005): The Intellectual. Manchester, Icon Books Ltd.

Gerdes, A. M. & M. Fischer (eds.) (2016): Der Krieg und die Frauen. Geschlecht und populäre Literatur im Ersten Weltkrieg. Münster, Waxmann.

Hayek, F. A. (1949): The Intellectuals and Socialism. University of Chicago Law Review, 16, 3, 417–433.

Hanisch, E. (1994): Der lange Schatten des Staates. Österreichische Gesellschaftsgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert, 1890–1990. Wien, Ueberreuter.

Http://wk1.staatsarchiv.at/frau-im-krieg/alice-schalek/#/?a=artefactgroup427 (last access: 01.04.2020).

Hübinger, G. & T. Hertfelder (2000): Kritik und Mandat. Intellektuelle in der Politik. München, DVA.

Hübinger, G. (2006): Gelehrte, Politik und Offentlichkeit. Eine Intellektuellengeschichte. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Knightley, P. (2004): The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Iraq. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Krasny, E. et al. (eds.) (1999): Von Samoa zum Isonzo. Die Fotografin und Reisejournalistin Alice Schalek. Wien, Mandelbaum.

Klaus, E. (2008): Rhetorics of War: Karl Kraus vs. Alice Schalek. Feministische Studien, 26, 1, 65–82.

Lepsius, M. R. (1990): Interessen, Ideen, Instituzionen. Wiesbaden, VS Verlaf für Sozialwissenschaften.

Mann, H. (1919): Macht und Mensch. München, K. Wolff.

Neue Freie Presse. Wien, 1864–1939.

Neues Wiener Journal. Wien, 1893–1939.

NDB – Neue Deutsche Biographie. Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 1953–2020. Https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/home (last access: 10.01.2020).

Ory, P. & J. F. Sirinelli (1986): Les intellectuels en France, de l'affaire Dreyfus à nos joursin. Paris, A. Colin.

Rapp, C. (1999): "Das Ganze ist so grandiose organisiert." Der Weltkrieg der Alice Schalek. In: Krasny, E. et al. (eds): Von Samoa zum Isonzo. Die Fotografin und Reisejournalistin Alice Schalek. Wien, Mandelbaum, 23–36.

Said, E. W. (1996): Representations of the Intellectual. New York, Vintage Books.

Schalek, A. (1902): Wann wird es tagen? Wiener Roman. Wien, Konegen.

Schalek, A. (1905): Das Fräulein. Novellen. Wien, Wiener Verlag.

Schalek, A. (1909): Schmerzen der Jugend. Berlin, Concordia.

Schalek, A. (1916): Am Isonzo. März bis Juli 1916. Wien, Seidel.

Schalek, A. (1930): Der große Tag. Moskau, Zentral Volker Verlag.

Seul, S. (2019): Women War Reporters. In: International Encyclopaedia of the First World War. Berlin, Freie Universität Berlin.

Wagener, M. L. (1976): Pioneer Journalistinnen: Two Early Twentieth-Century Viennese Cases: Berta Zuckerkandl and Alice Schalek. Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University.

WBR, TP 045764/1 – Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Personenmappen, Alice Schalek (TP 045764/1).

Weber, M. (1919): Geistige Arbeit als Beruf. München, Duncker & Humbolt.

Wells, H. G. (1909): Ann Veronica. London, Fisher.

Woolf, V. (1977): The Pargiters. New York, New York Public Library.

Woolf, V. (2011): On Fiction. London, Hesperus Press Limited.

Received: 2021-09-16 DOI 10.19233/AH.2021.37

EXPERIENCES FROM THE PAST. DOMESTIC HELP WORKERS AND LEGAL SOLUTIONS

Irena SELIŠNIK
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: irena.selisnik@ff.uni-lj.si

ABSTRACT

Domestic service has become a subject of many legislative interventions, nevertheless domestic work still remains elusive from state policy. At first, domestic workers have been frequently singled out from enjoying rights and protective legislation. However, even if domestic workers were given formal recognition of rights, regulations generally arrived later than for many other workers and didn't influence on real empowerment of domestic workers. This durable question of their "problematic position" regarding rights and entitlements can be found in "sectoral disadvantage" which is the direct consequence of the past historical categorization, where legal situation of domestic workers is rooted.

Keywords: domestic help workers, legislation, history, Carniola, paternalistic order

ESPERIENZE DEL PASSATO: LAVORATRICI DOMESTICHE E SOLUZIONI LEGISLATIVE

SINTESI

Sebbene il lavoro domestico retribuito è stato oggetto di molti interventi legislativi per rendere le condizioni di lavoro il più possibile eque, la regolamentazione è rimasta sfuggente e non è mai stata pienamente adottata dalle politiche statali. Inizialmente, le lavoratrici domestiche erano prive di diritti del lavoro e di una legislazione di protezione. Nei periodi successivi è stato loro concesso un riconoscimento formale dei diritti, ma le normative erano generalmente tardive rispetto a molti altri lavoratori e non hanno influenzato il reale potenziamento delle lavoratrici domestiche. La questione persistente della loro «posizione problematica» riguardo ai diritti deriva dallo «svantaggio settoriale» che è la diretta conseguenza della passata categorizzazione storica nella quale è radicato lo status giuridico delle lavoratrici domestiche.

Parole chiave: lavoratrici domestiche, legislazione, storia, Carniola, paternalismo

INTRODUCTION[1]

Domestic service has become well established category in policy papers which deal with work and a subject of many legislative interventions. However, even though more and more effort is given to establish fair conditions in this area of work the consequence of legislative initiatives is that remains elusive from state policy and it is one of the most challenging categories in labor law (Neetha, 2009; Einat, 2012, 231). The nature of this elusiveness of domestic work can be recognized also in historical research as servants and domestic workers have been fighting for their rights for at least a couple of centuries, nevertheless domestic workers have been frequently singled out from enjoying rights and protective legislation. However, even if domestic workers were given formal recognition of rights, regulations generally arrived later than for many other workers and didn't influence on real empowerment of domestic workers. This durable question of their "problematic position" regarding rights and entitlements is now part of scholars' vivid discussion. In light of that, historians also have an important role to play. R. Sarti (2014, 312) calls for comparisons over time and space as she argues "historians bear responsibility for supplying evidence about past experiences which can contribute to the elaboration of new interpretations and new tools, possibly contributing to a more just future."

In the context of this appeal the article will present how the position of domestic help/workers was regulated by legislation in the area of today Slovenia and would put Slovene legislation in international perspective. We will see how legal intervention only tried to regulate current situation and law had no social reform effect. Relationship between private space of family where domestic work is done and public concern – paid work which has to be regulated by working legislation is problem which has since 19th Century been continuously opened and different solutions were implemented yet none of them has been completely successful. Some focused on employer, other on employees, some on informal economy. The state formed focused regulations only for domestic workers and also in other times legislation that dealt with domestic worker as any other worker. Yet relationship between householder and domestic worker remained elusive and grey zone for many practice, employed women found out new ways to remain out of the picture of the government and to adjust to new legislation according to their needs by their "micro-entrepreneurship" initiative which was depended also on condition in general labor market. While some householders in many vulnerable employees recognized opportunity for explotation.

1 This article was elaborated within the EIRENE project (full title: Post-war transitions in gendered perspective: the case of the North-Eastern Adriatic Region), founded by the European Research Council under the Horizon 2020 financed Advanced Grant founding scheme [ERC Grant Agreement n. 742683].

FROM PATERNALISTIC SOCIETY AND DOMESTIC SERVANT TO WELFARE STATE

Let us now look “at the beginning” of the problem where according by some experts “sectoral disadvantage” (meaning a situation in which the *rules* of a specific sector – its structure and culture – impact on workers in the direction of disadvantage) starts that is in the past historical categorization where legal situation of domestic workers is rooted, as “continuity extends between that historical category and the current sectoral disadvantage of domestic workers.” (Einat, 2012, 232). Historical roots of disadvantage can be traced in different labor law, made for each particular group of workers, each with its own set of rules which started to be more exactly defined with the modernization and formation of the urban population. We can speak about Napoleon Civil Code or English Law of Master and Servant with different categories of workers or Prussian Master Servant Code (1810) which solely focused on domestic workers. Those laws had all in common that domestic servants were treated as special category of workers who were dependent on their employer in the physical and spiritual meaning as it was demanded to show “silent subordination” in the house of the master. G. F. Budde (2004) calls attention on imbalance of power in which the ambiguities of the Servant Orders can be presented. The working relationship of the domestic worker was contracted in the form that could be terminated yet on the other hand it was subordinated to patriarchic principle which treated employer as prudent and protective master – pater familias which dealt with the domestic worker as she/he was a minor. After “unwritten laws” the domestic workers needed to fulfill their duties much more precise than their masters. While their revolt against the master was punishable with the jail, the master’s offences were much harder to be punished. This was also very much connected with the place where the work of the servants was going on. In domestic sphere of the family, where the state with legislation regulated position of working-class men and women as well as family members in the manner of certain roles, they were part of perpetuating alteration of the domestic sphere to suit gender order and social inequality. Already in the second half of 19th century this was opposite with other workers where the state tried to regulate their position with social protection laws that would reduce social inequality. Power imbalance in domestic sphere became part of public/private (domestic) binary (Wright & TeSelle, 2012).

In the nineteenth century the main legislation that regulated the position of female domestic labor in Carniola, where most of the Slovenes lived in the times of Hapsburg monarchy, was the Civil Code adopted in 1811 and Servant Order for Carniola accepted in 1858 and for the City of Ljubljana in 1859. None of this regulation was meant only for domestic servants. Civil Code was all about civil law that regulated many aspects of private life, position of women, family, inheritance, law of contracts and it was believed that this sole complicated law as a homogenous system should be enough in regulating private life. While the Servant Order was supposed to regulate the life of all servants in the city and in the farms, men and women, minor and adults.

The Civil Code tackled the position of servants through the law of contract as it regulated the working contract or a servitude contract. The Civil Code regulated the payment of the domestic worker, resignation, sickness, working condition and above all the principle of working agreement.[2] Servants were according to legislation part of family (družina) as legislation made distinction between family (družina) as a productive unit and kin family (rodbina) a unit of kins (Vilfan, 1996, 248–249; Obči državljanski zakonik, 1928, 40 and 683 article). The work relationships were based in paternalistic system. By paternalism we can understood the manner of organizing productive unit, which in ideological manner regulates social relations and provides normative legitimation in hierarchical and very dependent way. The power of legitimization is also found in absence of institutional arrangements. The nature of servant contracts was in the middle of 19th century mostly oral and informal, and it was already mentioned heavily dependent on personal relationships between two very different individuals in terms of social and economic status. In this period persons stepped in contract relationship not as equal agents but because of the differences to their access to power and resources as unequal individuals (Abercrombie & Hill, 1976). There is no doubt that this relationship between paternalist and subordinate included strong "ties of personal dependence" which included all aspects of subordinate's life and which for other professions began to reduce since 1848 (Levy, 2009, 70).

While the Civil Code arranged the position of servant more in general the Servant Order was more precise in this aspect. Those changes in the legislation matched as Einat (2012) wrotes to the separation between domestics and other groups of workers ('labourers', 'apprentices' and the ministerial and clerical workers) which only began to be covered by other protective legislation. In the Carniolian Servant Order from 1858 we can find more detailed provisions on the everyday life of servants. In there we can find the authoritarian and paternalistic understanding of the family life. By the provisions in Servant Order the servant became the part of the family and was subjected to strict control of the master/father of the family or household. That meant that servant was in position of subordination not only during working hours but for the whole day. Without master's consent he/she could not leave the

2 That was with the possibility of advance payment; in it we can find the right of the servant to get the payment if he/she is excusably sustained for not more than one week. If he/she could not perform the job because of the guilt of the employer, he /she should also receive the payment. If the servant is accepted in the household, he/she has also the right for money compensation, care and medical treatment in the case of the sickness for 14 days if he/she was employed more than two weeks and for the period of 4 weeks if he/she was employed for more than 6 months. The employer may reimburse the money spend on the care for the sick servant if he/she has any income from the health insurance. In the Civil Code was also stipulated that appropriate accommodation for sleeping and nutrition should be provided. In the last articles the employee notice was regulated. The contract can be abolished during the first month by both, the employer and employee. If the contract is arranged for the lifetime or more than five years employee may cancel the contract after 5 years with the employee notice of 6 weeks. In other cases, four or two weeks employee notice was arranged. If the employer prevented the servant to search for a new job, he/she should receive the reimbursement. With the special decree from 1916 also free time searching for a new job was determined (Obči državljanski zakonik, 1928).

area of the house and stay absent somewhere else for more than an hour. There was no regulation on working hours, Sunday break, holidays. The master could check his/her assets any time, he had the right to open his/hers chest and to enter his/her room any time. The master also controlled that the servant was not overdressed as regard to his/her class and was responsible as the study of Andrej Studen (1995, 156) shows for morality of the employee The shortest time period of the employment for domestic helpers was four months while for the farm workers one year. According to servant order also the advance payment for the servant is necessary. The contract could be broken only in exceptional cases, the employer could dismiss the servant: if the job was not performed well, if the servant slandered the master and his family, if a criminal act was committed, if master assets was in jeopardy, if the servant went to jail for more than 8 days, if he/she got some disgusting disease (sexual for example), if the servant was sick for more than four weeks. The servant could abolish the contract if he or she is no more capable to perform the job without the threat of his/hers own life (the pregnancy is not the case) or if the servant was persuaded to do unmoral things or woman had the opportunity to marry and men the opportunity to possess their own household. Those servants who left their job on their own should repay the damage to the master. According to Servant order the corporal punishment was also part of the custom. Women and children were beaten with rod and men with sticks.[3] Especially last provision was in northern Europe abolished already at the end of 19th century while it was still part of servant legislation in Germany but considered outdated (Sogner, 2004, 184; Jastrow, 1899, 631). In most of European countries servants were not included in protection laws at the beginning of the 20th century so in that regard Austrian legislation was no exception (Sarti, 2005a, 48). Paternalistic discourse prevailed and used the language of personal obligation and moral duties between individuals in order to consolidate the relationship of employers and employees (Abercrombie & Hill, 1976, 418). As we could see the emphasize of those laws is on the obligations of the employee (servant) and the protection of the employers – householders probably also because the supply of the potential servants was great and masters could choose. But there are also other reasons as protection of the "natural" order and deep seated trust in the higher authority of the strict father figure. In that paternal order the servant is considered as child of the family with no privacy yet a child that can be easily rid of after sickness or death of the old master.

Yet even before the First World War across the Europe new job opportunities for young women (who were prevalent in the work force of domestic workers) started to appear all over Europe, modernization of labor market happened with unprecedented pace. New jobs for women as clerks and typist, factory workers and shop assistants were appearing and in that regard also Carniola was no exception

3 *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice*, 21. 4. 1858: Nova cesarska postava za posle, 121–122; *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice*, 28. 4. 1858: Nova cesarska postava za posle, 129–130; *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice*, 5. 5. 1858: Nova cesarska postava za posle, 138–139.

(Žnidaršič, 2000, 193; Selišnik & Cergol, 2019, 269; Louvier, 2019, 593). As new job opportunities were increasing working in private household slowly became less and less good opportunity. Women started to appreciate "only the money bond" that connected the employer and employees' (Louvier, 2019, 593). New job opportunities in contrast with domestic work offered increased independence (social and financial) and more free time to workers who were not expected to live on their place of work. From both a social and political standpoint, therefore, domestic service – with its lack of private space, sparse free time and nosy mistresses – was casted as a dated occupation or as seen by other by workers as position belonging to a lower social status (Louvier, 2019, 591–592). Labor movement which demanded better social protection for workers and social insurance in light of new emancipation also influenced on the first demands to regulate the position of domestic workers. In the urban and bourgeois discourse the servant was changed in the professional profile of the domestic worker, however Austrian legislation make sure that the categories of worker and domestic servant were still very much separated and not overlapping categories with of course the position of domestic worker being something "special".

This first became to change with the leader of Slovene Christian Social movement Janez Evangelist Krek who took special interest in female workers and after the first association for women workers was established also the first Slovene association[4] for servant question was established in Trieste, Poselska zveza in 1910.[5] The fact that this establishment took place in Trieste can be understood in the context that Trieste was the fourth biggest city in the Habsburg monarchy (and the third in the Austrian part of the monarchy). It was a cosmopolitan port, that invited women from Slovene countryside that surrounded the city and offered them almost unlimited opportunities of employment (Verginella, 2006). Because of this there is no surprise that also in Trieste the first women's led Slovene social reform association for domestic workers came into existence (Verginella, 2006, 171). In official newsletter of Christian Social movement first demands were expressed that the abolition of the old Servant Orders is necessary and new national Austrian legislation should be proposed.[6] Old servant order was in the eyes of Christian Social movement marked as "terroristic" and repressive.[7] Future new regulation should contain rules for maximum 11 hours long working day, for Sunday and holidays only 9 working hours schedule, 9 hours night rest. While in the Habsburg metropola, Vienna, demands from Social democrats and Christian Social activist were raised that gainful domestic work should be codified as any other contractual labor (Richter, 2015, 490).

---

4 Before Poselska zveza existed two Slovene association for domestic servants that dealt with humanitarian and social work, Zavod sv. Nikolaja which was established and lead by a group of womens' activists in Trieste and Društvo sv. Marte in Ljubljana.

5 *Gospodinjska pomočnica*, oktober 1937: Petrič Franja, Dr. Janez Ev. Krek, 73–75.

6 *Naša moč*, 10. 6. 1910: Poselska spomenica, 3.

7 *Naša moč*, 25. 2. 1910: Trst, 2.

Table 1: Number of domestic workers in Ljubljana (Žagar, 1986, 29–30; Žnidaršič, 2000, 136).

	18th c.	1890	1910	1931	1935	1945	1965
Number of domestic workers in Ljubljana	1471	1876	2300	2726	3500	1700	1049

As First World War started all union activities diminished, but in labor market never the less important changes happened that will later influence also the position of domestic servants. While men were mobilized and went in the front lines, women stepped in and took over new professional duties. Because of that soon in Ljubljana and elsewhere in Europe female servants were hard to get (Milčinski, 2000, 282, 315, 362). After the war the problem of getting proper domestic workers persisted.[8] Percentage of domestic servants in the economically active population declined in several countries (Sarti, 2014; Sarti, 2006; May, 2011, 112). With this changes in labor market and new democratic aspiration and anticipation when the new Yugoslav state was established according to union activist positive changes in lives of the servants should happen. We have to have in mind that after the First World War Ljubljana became the capital of Slovenian part of the monarchy and the main employer of domestic help as Littoral cost and it cities became part of Italy. Slovene labor movement and its demands were based in Ljubljana where immediately after the war new union Catholic domestic service organizations were established as Zveza Služkinj and Podporno društvo za služkinje in 1919. Those organizations started to promote their claims which were in Kingdom Yugoslavia emphasized in the political discourse of social welfare and the importance of social politics yet only partial improvement was made as still the work of domestic worker and "other workers" was understood as two different categories as personal relationship of domestic worker differed from other employment relationships.[9]

Slovenian associations especially carefully followed the new legislation that was accepted in Austria,[10] women's newspapers reported about Marta Tausk demands that old Styria Servant order is annulled and working relationship between domestic servant and employer is regulated the same as any other working relationship. This was in line with the most radical claims in USA and Europe (May, 2011, 118). However catholic domestic workers association in 1919 didn't agree with those demands, when presented their own proposals, we can still find in it old beliefs that domestic worker is part of the family, but never the less appropriate night rest, Sunday rest and yearly 14 days off should be

8 *Slovenka*, I, 5–6, 15. 6. 1919: Ivica Neznan, Naše služkinje, 105–108.

9 An article about an agreement reached between Meščansko žensko društvo and Zveza služkin on how servents should be treated was published in the periodical *Slovenec*. No state intervention was required, merely an agreement beetween two private associations. *Slovenec*, 24 February 1920: Sporazum, 3.

10 *Slovenka*, I, 2, 15. 2. 1919: Za ureditev poselskega vprašanja, 48.

regulated in the new legislation as well as pensions and health insurance.[11] Some of the catholic supporters emphasized that free Sunday afternoon would be dangerous for morality and that domestic servants should be treated as "daughters" which was a discourse characteristic for the 19th Century legislation.[12] While the socialist party associations could see no difference in the position of domestic and factory worker and demanded something unthinkable – 8 hours working day also for servants.[13] In 1921 special decree from the Provincial government of Slovenia for domestic workers was accepted, while in the process of framing legislation different women's association took part.[14]

In decree from 1921[15] there is more emphasize on the rights of the domestic servant, free time is for the first time exactly stipulated as well as monthly payments, servant has the right for safe keeping of his/hers clothes, five hours break on every second Sunday and second holiday. Nine-hour night rest per day was also stipulated from 21 to 6 o'clock. In free time she/he could leave the house freely. After two-year employment the servant has the right for one week pay leave. In the case if it is evident that the employer dismissed the servant only to prevent vacation the servant has the right to demand reimbursement. More articles were prepared for the regulation of dismissal of the servant. Both employee and employer may retract the working relationship. The employer may do that in the case: if a servant keep secret of something important when the contract was affirmed, if a servant doesn't do her job well, if a damage was made to the employer, if she/he drinks, if she/he insults the master or his/her family, if she/he doesn't take care of her personal hygiene. The servant may abolish the contract if he/she could not perform its work without danger for his/her health, if the master mistreats him and if it is not paid. After 10 years he/she has the right for the compensation in case of dismissal. In the case if the servant has given notice to the employer without the cause the employer has the right to demand reimbursement. Another decree from 1922 stipulated health insurance in which also domestic workers in the whole Kingdom SHS were included (Žagar, 1986, 28). Soon domestic workers association demanded higher wages.[16]

Laws in Slovenian part of monarchy were created according to Austrian legislation Gesetz über den Dienstvertrag der Hausgehilfen (Hausgehilfinnengesetz) accepted in 1920.[17] In Slovenian and Austrian law we can find numerous similar regulations as 9 hours long night rest from 9–6 o'clock, every second Sunday free but for example as in Austrian case Slovene legislation didn't abolished Poselsko knjižico (Dienstbücher) and it didn't contain provision on two hours daily break (Richter, 2015, 489). After the First

11 *Slovenka*, I, 2, 15. 2. 1919: Za ureditev poselskega vprašanja, 48.

12 *Slovenec*, 12. 2. 1920: Milica dr. G., K poselskem vprašanju s stališča krščanske družine, 2.

13 *Učiteljski tovariš*, 4. 3. 1920: Črnagoj, Za staro pravdo, 4.

14 We can trace vivid lobbing for the new law from the liberal and catholic women's associations as they organized lectures on position of the domestic help (SI ZAL, LJU 285, Letno poročilo SŽD 1920; *Slovenec,* 11. 1. 1920: Meščansko žensko društvo, 4; *Slovenec*, 18. 1. 1920: Meščansko žensko društvo, 3).

15 Uradni list deželne vlade za Slovenijo, 82, 16. 7. 1921, 403.

16 *Novi čas*, 15. 10. 1921: V trezen pomislek, 2.

17 Staatsgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich, 37, 10. 3. 1920, 46; *Večerni list*, 28. 2. 1920: Novi poselski zakon, 2.

World War we can there for find new legal solution that put the employees very much in the forefront, as according to the provincial Slovene government those were "socially just provisions".[18] Those changes were possible as legitimation in discourse changed. The state has now new role to play, because the horrible conditions of domestic workers cannot be solely solved by them or their professional organization this is the new responsibility of the state because of the unjust economic system.[19] State intervention slowly but for sure started to replace omnipresent and omniscient master. Yet this was only the beginning of the changes in legislation as all over Europe law proposals suggested domestic work should be changed into wage labor (Richter, 2015; Sarti, 2014). In spite of shortcomings however Slovenian legislation was in Yugoslav context vanguard piece of legislation as in no other part of the state such legislation existed.[20]

FROM SOCIAL WELFARE STATE TO DOMESTIC WORKER WITH EQUAL RIGHTS AS ANY OTHER WORKER

However, those "just legislative provision for domestic work" soon became "problematic" as legislation from 1921 became obsolete and new initiatives were taken place. The laws on domestic help accepted in Austria in 1926 and 1928 were used as good practice in draft of the law which was in preparation before the Second World War but was later never accepted.[21] One of the most important questions in the discussion before the Second World War was why the rights of ordinary workers are different from the domestic workers. Those debates were part of the wider process that was going on in Yugoslavia which included the improvement of position of workers and ratification of International conventions that stipulated protection of workers, working hours and insurance in case of injury at work (Bajič, 1936, 34). But the most important change in regard of better position of domestic workers was the fact that the relationship between employers and domestic workers in interwar period transformed dramatically. Economic crisis changed the structure of working force as women from rural areas were joint with unemployed female workers, widows and divorces (Žagar, 1986, 21). They had behind them different life experiences connected with formalization of work relationship. At the same time economic crisis contributed to even higher percentage of employed women as their share in workforce raised up to 40% (Lazarević, 2015, 95). The opportunities to find the job (also undeclared work) outside domestic help sector were bigger than in the past. The problem of scares supply of domestic workers was

18 Sejni zapisniki. Narodne vlade Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov v Ljubljani in deželnih vlad za Slovenijo, 1918–1921, 3, 350.

19 Slovenka, I, 5–6, 15. 2. 1919: Shod služkinj, 108–109.

20 For Croatia *Služinski red za gradove u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, 19. 1. 1857, and *Služinski red za ladanje iz 1853* (11. 7. 1853). For Dalmatia *Privremeni pravilnik za poslužnike u gradovima i varošima krunovine Dalmacije*, 24. 10 1845. For Srbija *Pravila o odnosima slugu i njihovih gazda*, 12. 9. 1904. For Bosnia and Hercegovina *Privremeni služinski red*, 1. 10. 1900, and for Vojvodina *Izvod iz XII zakonskog člana od 1876.g. koji regulira odnose između čeljadeta i gazde*.

21 *Gospodinjska pomočnica*, maj 1936: Načrt zakona za hišno uslužbenstvo, 40.

also part of newspaper discourse (Testen Koren & Cegol Paradiž, 2021). So during the 30ies period domestic workers became less loyal as before the war, as they often changed jobs on few weeks or months (Žagar, 1986, 24). At the same time new organizations for domestic workers were established as well as special newsletter which focused especially on domestic workers and demanded new rights. This went in the context of discussion that was going on all over Europe, when the insubordination of domestic servants and the growing tension with their employers was reported in interwar period (Louvier, 2019, 583). Modernization brought with it also new feelings, because domestic service is dependent position as such was not particularly welcomed in egalitarian/democratic society (Sogner, 2004, 175). As new emancipation discourse for political and economic emancipation of women became intense and better school education was guaranteed paternalism became more and more obsolete and market relationship replaced old relations.

Central Committee for work according to instruction of Ministry for social work started the debate about new state servant law in 1930 which should be accepted for the whole Kingdom of Yugoslavia and it was based on the Slovenian case.[22] Soon Splošno žensko društvo sent to the Ministry of social politics and national health the proposals that also health and pension insurance should be taken into consideration for the domestic help.[23] Newly established associations for domestic workers liberal Zveza gospodinjskih pomočnic and its leader Franja Petrič demanded 12 hours working day, later also a proposal of at least one hour break in a working day was added.[24] Catholic organization demanded 14 hours working day, pensions, daily break and eight hours night rest.[25] In 1936 they demanded that Slovenian legislation should be supplemented that minor domestic help under 16 years old should be monitored and school education should be provided[26]. Months before the war a special Union for domestic help was established in 1941 yet the collective contract could not be reached because of the war (Žagar, 1986). During the Second World War there was again a great shortage of domestic service workers in Slovenia which again prolonged after the war with exception being border areas of Trieste and Gorizia (Verginella, 2006, 146).

In the new socialist Yugoslavia equality presented the norm and the sign of democratization so the challenge how to solve the problem of the subordinate position between employer and domestic worker appeared. Even in socialist Yugoslavia domestic help was still needed especially in the families where women were employed in higher professional positions of communist regime. The same as in Soviet Union after revolution also here the old customs didn't vanish overnight (Spagnolo, 2006; Klots, 2017). But new questions and peculiar situation appeared as for example the one mentioned in memoirs as state clerk demanded from the families that equal relationship

22 *Nova doba*, 22. 4. 1930: Pred uzakonitvijo poselskega reda, 1.
23 *Ženski svet*, 4, 1930: Občni zbor „Splošnega ženskega društva" v Ljubljani, 123–124.
24 *Ženski svet*, 2, 1931: F. Petrič. Organizacija gospodinjskih pomočnic?, 51–53.
25 *Slovenec*, 8. 12. 1935: Za nov poselski zakon, 7.
26 *Gospodinjska pomočnica*, 8, 1936: Še enkrat k načrtu za služben red, 66.

between families and domestic workers became a norm and comradeship is established (Šuštar, 1993, 15). In the eye of socialist regime domestic spehre became the place of antagonistic interest of people involved in it and its position in private sphere made the state intervention especially problematic. However new authority tried it best to regulate the position of domestic worker to every detail.

Immediately after the war special municipality decree stipulated the minimum wages for domestic workers and taxes for the employers (Šuštar, 1993). In 1946 a state Union of Domestic help was established but soon reorganized.[27] Then a special decision of the government was published with the minimum wage and time table, which stipulated free Thursday and Sunday afternoons and night rest from 21 till 6 o'clock. Later laws on social insurance of workers in which also domestic helpers were included were published for the case of disease, pregnancy, death, pension (Šuštar, 1993). In the years to come more regulation on domestic work was accepted that ever before in spite of decreased number of domestic workers. In 1959 in Official gazette new law on working relationship of domestic help and daily helpers was accepted. In it, daily helper was defined as a person that works less than full time and domestic worker as a person that workers full time. It regulated work for outdoor and indoor domestic workers. In this law the work of domestic help was defined as cooking, cleaning, washing laundry, ironing, darning and other similar activities including baby-sitting. The working contract could still be agreed by oral approval. Only girls older than 16 years could be employed and for them nine hours long night rest was stipulated, for the rest of the domestic helpers 8-hour rest. Twice a week 5 hours of free time was assured (Šuštar, 1993). It is interesting that at the time more progressive laws were accepted in Croatia and Macedonia as there 8 hours working hours were stipulated, but not in Slovenia.[28] The paid leave was prolonged. Also more articles on dismissal were added, the domestic help could terminate the contract also if the food and accommodation were not appropriate. The termination is valid also in cases if a domestic worker doesn't come to work for three days without any contact to employer. If the employer doesn't treat domestic help correctly he or she could be prosecuted by penal code. Some of the proposals from the interwar period were put in the law.

In 1966 another act was established which regulated work for private employers part of it was also the relationship between domestic workers and householders.[29] In there it was for the first time stipulated that only written working contracts were acknowledged and there is no difference between the domestic worker and other workers, this "quite late regulation" is interesting as communist regime in Soviet Union stipulated this regulation immediately after revolution (Klots, 2017, 76). Work for domestic worker should be as long as 8 working hours, payment, employee notice, safety of workers at work should be

27 It lost its independence and was incorporated in Zveza delavcev krajevne industrije in obrti (1948) and later in the Union Sindikat obrtnih delavcev (1950).

28 *Delo*, 21. 10. 1959: V. K., Kako naj zakon uredi delovno razmerje?, 2.

29 Uradni list Socialistične republike Slovenije, 41, 22. 12. 1966, 293–297; Sejni zapiski Skupščine socialistične republike Slovenije, 1966, 502.

no different in relation to other employees.[30] Yet in spite of the equality between different occupations special articles regulated the outstanding position of domestic workers. In the cases where domestic worker lives with employer the right to use appropriate living space and appropriate food was written. Domestic work force is also obliged to protect the reputation of the employer. The expenses of care in the case of sickness should be reimbursed to the employer. This regulation from 1966 made domestic workers to enjoy the same rights as other workers was still accepted relatively early in comparison with the rest of Europe. As for example Spain, Italy still had no laws that will explicitly claim the equality, while for example Belgium started to regulate 8 working hour and paid holidays already in 1936 (Sarti, 2005a). If we again compare it to Austria, the country accepted The Law on Home Help and Domestic Work in 1962 and there still different working hours schedule was regulated from other workers (10 hours rest which period shall include the time between 9 pm and 6 am, the daily working hours shall be interrupted by breaks totalling at least 3 hours, where at least two uninterrupted periods of 30 minutes each shall be granted for the purpose of consuming the main meals).[31]

The problem with domestic workers was in new socialist society seen as the “remains” of the old bourgeois or traditional world. Domestic worker jobs would in the long run ceased to exist (Šuštar, 1993, 18). Yet reality was something different, still in 1966, 16% babies were baby-sitted by domestic help[32] and many politicians discovered that “this kind of job is still necessary”, especially in families with small children.[33] As in the Soviet union the socialist government in Yugoslavia had a goal that domestic workers became “skillful and reliable executors of state goals in the home” and state had many unsuccessful proposals to regulate their qualifications. But after the Second World War situation changed a lot. Domestic workers demand was greater than supply, in that regard domestic workers received better wages as housewife’s had much more trouble with finding help. After the war for many women (especially from rural areas) the job as domestic help became only the launching pad for new job in the city as she steadily progressed towards factory worker or employment in service sector. Because of that many women saw domestic service job as temporary situation for which is best to do it under the radar of authority. Women adopted their own strategies to improve their position as Verginella (2006, 148) discovers for Slovene domestic workers in Trieste. In the border regions women exploited the difference in the amount of the income, as domestic work in Italy was far better paid, as they performed work in Italy illegally they could still exploit Slovene welfare state and with lesser problems balance domestic and professional life than as they would perform factory work. Socialist state similar as Soviet Union soon discovered that it was extremely difficult to

---

30 Domestic workers should work not more than 48 hours per week, 30 minutes of break should be provided, 12 hours of rest between work, free weekends should be guaranteed or at least two free days during the week.

31 Hausgehilfen- und Hausangestelltengesetz, 1962.

32 *Delo*, 21. 10. 1966: Kako preživi dan naš dojenček?, 8.

33 Sejni zapiski Skupščine socialistične republike Slovenije, 1960, 85.

monitor what was going on in private households and to ensure that domestic workers' rights were respected (Klots, 2017, 79). But Yugoslav state also found itself before very modern challenge – how to combat informal work which is characteristically done only a few hours per week from outdoor worker. As in other European countries it seemed that widening of domestic workers' rights was connected with irregular work which became obvious also in Yugoslavia in 80s. This relationship is still in the center of debate all over Europe and the governments are looking for proper strategies to answer those challenges (Sarti, 2005b, 24).

CONCLUSION

In decades after the Second World War in Ljubljana and Slovenia the number of domestic workers declined while finally in 1994 there were only 20 registered professional helpers in all of Ljubljana.[34] This of course didn't mean that domestic workers ceased to exist as undeclared work raised dramatically especially after Yugoslav wars numerous refuges found its shelter in Slovenia. The wishful thinking of the state to regulate every aspect of working relation between domestic worker and employer was obviously not successful as well as the conversion of labour law to a more unitary regime has been almost entirely ineffective for this group of workers. These tendencies supported the claim that legal equality of domestic and other workers is not enough. Especialy as domestic workers moved in the sphere of unregulated work and they became part of the discussion of informal economy which was in Slovenia put on the public agenda at the end of 90ies and at the beginning of 2000.[35] In 2014 domestic workers were especially addressed when new Prevention of Undeclared Work and Employment Act was accepted together with special decree that made possible vouchers (vrednotnice), which made the householder act as "customer" and the domestic worker as a self-employed person. This regulation was accepted according to German model (Hrženjak, 2015). Laws offered the opportunities for more flexible forms of work contracts. However primarily focus of Slovene legislation that fights undeclared work remained on the employers who didn't want to regulate the status of their workers.

34 *Delo*, 11. 3. 1994: Gospodinjske pomočnice so izginile, 8. After the Second World War the number of domestic workers declined in 1965 there were 4583 women working as domestic help in Slovenia. In 1972 there were only 750 women working as domestic helpers (or at least this is the number of registered domestic workers), while in 1983 their number increased on 884 (*Jana*, 16. 3. 1972: Bogdan Finžgar, Robot – ali desna roka, 20–21; Šuštar, 1993, 17). When the state tried to include domestic workers in the collective agreement for restaurant, hotel industry and tourism, yet the partner with whom to sign the contract was nowhere to be found. That is why the collective contract from 1974 or 1976 had no special article on domestic workers (*Jana*, 19. 5. 1976: Brigita Bavčar Anzeljc, Za ureditev razmerij, 6). The articles on minimum wages were not renewed (the last one accepted in 1972: Uradni list Socialistične republike Slovenije, 10, 8. 3. 1972, 297).

35 The first Zakon o preprečevanju dela in zaposlovanja na črno was accepted in 2000. Cf. ZPDZC, in: Uradni list Republike Slovenije, 36, 26. 4. 2000, 4191. In 1997 programme for detecting and preventing undeclared work was lunched.

The nature of the domestic helpers' work (its structure and culture) in domestic sphere makes every legislative initiative "problematic" the previous ones with the paternalistic characteristics or the last ones which are ignoring non-regulatory situation of those associated with the household establishment and the boundaries between private and public, closeness to the family and personal relationship (emotions and grey zones, unstable work hours etc.) (Einat, 2012). As no regulation could change that personal relationship or informality which is tightly bound to the history of domestic service employment, and is in "today's world of work closely associated with what in legal language are termed 'undocumented', 'informal' or 'illegal' relationships" (Einat, 2012, 244). Even the initiatives of International Labour Organization which has only as late as in July 2011, adopted the Convention on Domestic Workers and finally recognized domestic workers as workers with the same rights as other workers had limited effect. Domestic work stil has pecular status and is only rarerly considered as proper job (Blackett, 2019, 59). As Einat writes the division between private and public established in legislation from previous centuries still persists and creates divisions between the home and other spheres, especially when the home is a work establishment in itself. The more problematic position of this type of work is also that from additional research became evident that among many domestic help workers in Slovenia as elsewhere are migrants, their position is especially vulnerable so again problematic "dependency" still persist in modern domestic work.[36]

Domestic work is obviously taking place in "the private sphere of the employer which is the public sphere of the employee' (Blackett, 2004, 261) but we have to also point out that it is also on the other hand connected with social stratifications and economic situation in the labor market. Dependent position of the employee can be very quickly changed with scares option for hiring people which enables their empowerment as we have seen or vice versa – great numbers of potential workers makes working conditions deteriorate (May, 2011). However as last circumstances are exposed to international development as economic crises and political stability the only possible answer is to focus on domestic worker and give he/she place for more autonomy in decision making (Jaehrling, 2004, 244) and that labour law to "become effective for domestic workers' detaches "itself from its embedded legal thought and become attuned to the detailed sectoral disadvantage of domestics." (Einat, 2012, 245). Legal initiatives should focus on this "special nature" of domestic work in which it differs from ordinary work as encompassing protecting laws in Yugoslavia in case of domestic workers had no innovative function (as re-construction of everyday life was not triggered by any of them). But the initiative of the state should be seen in correlation with different union organizations that in the past successfully implemented legal initiatives and put the domestic worker and its special "sectoral disadvantage" uniqueness in the focus which would today be also connected with their precarious legal position.

36 Women from Bosnia and Herzegovina started to come to Ljubljana to do domestic work already in the 70s (*Jana*, 8. 3. 1972: Bogdan Finžgar, Bajtarske princese, 20–21).

IZKUŠNJE IZ PRETEKLOSTI: GOSPODINJSKE DELAVKE IN PRAVNE REŠITVE

Irena SELIŠNIK
Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: irena.selisnik@ff.uni-lj.si

POVZETEK

Plačano domače delo je bilo predmet mnogih zakonodajnih intervencij, ki naj bi vzpostavile, kar se le da poštene delovne pogoje. Toda navkljub temu je ureditev plačanega gospodinjskega dela ostala zmuzljiva in je državne politike nikoli niso v celoti zaobjele. V tem procesu so bile hišne pomočnice preobražene v gospodinjske delavke. Sprva so bile tako izvzete iz delovnih pravic in zaščitne zakonodaje, v kasnejših obdobjih pa so delavske pravice vedno bolj zahtevale tudi same, tako kot formalno ureditev svojega statusa, ki je skoraj vedno prišla kasneje kot v drugih poklicih. Aktualna delovna zakonodaja za gospodinjske delavke pa navkljub vsem intervencijam ni omogočila njihovega opolnomočenja. Zakonodaja se je osredotočala na zaposlovalca in na delavke ter v nekaterih primerih na neformalno ekonomijo, kljub vsemu pa je ostajalo vprašanje »problematičnega statusa gospodinjskih delavk« nerešeno. Problem je izhajal tudi iz specifičnosti sektorja in pomanjkljivosti v njem, ki je posledica zgodovinskega procesa in minulih zgodovinskih kategorij, v katerih je zakoreninjen pravni položaj gospodinjskih delavk. Zgodovinske izvore zapostavljenosti lahko zasledimo v različnih pravnih ureditvah položaja za različne skupine delavcev in delitvi na javno in zasebno, ki za seboj potegne neenakosti v moči, saj je ravno v sferi gospodinjstva zakoreninjena dihotomija na javno/zasebno (družino). Hkrati pa je položaj gospodinjske delavke povezan s socialno stratifikacijo in ekonomskim položajem na trgu delovne sile. Odvisen položaj zaposlenega se lahko namreč tudi spremeni s pomanjkanjem delovne sile in obratno, veliko število potencialnih delavcev in delavk lahko še poslabša delovne pogoje. Avtorica predlaga, da naj se zakonodajni ukrepi za ureditev plačanega gospodinjskega dela osredotočijo na slednje sektorske pomanjkljivosti.

Ključne besede: gospodinjske delavke, zakonodaja, zgodovina, Kranjska, paternalizem

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abercrombie, N. & S. Hill (1976): Paternalism and Patronage. The British Journal of Sociology, 27, 4, 413–429.

Bajič, S. (1936): Delovno pravo. Ljubljana, Delniška tiskarna.

Blackett, A. (2004): Promoting Domestic Workers' Human Dignity through Specific Regulation. In: Chamoux, A. F. (ed.): Domestic Service and the formation of European Identity. Bern, Peter Lang, 247–276.

Blackett, A. (2019): Domestic Workers' Transnational Challenge to International Labor Law. New York, Cornell University Press.

Budde, G.-F. (2004): Das Dienstmädchen. In: Frevert, U. & H.-G. Haupt (eds.): Der Mensch des 19. Jahrhunderts. Essen, Magnus Verlag, 148–175.

Delo. Ljubljana, 1959–.

Einat, A. (2012): From Domestic Servant to Domestic Worker. In: Fudge, J., McCrystal, S. & K. Sankaran (eds.): Challenging the Legal Boundaries of Work Regulation. Oxford, Portland, Hart, 231–250.

Gospodinjska pomočnica: glasilo gospodinjskih pomočnic in hišnih delavk. Ljubljana, 1931–1940.

Hausgehilfen- und Hausangestelltengesetz (1962): Act Governing Domestic Help and Domestic Employees, StF: BGBl. Nr. 235/1962. (https://www.ilo.org/dyn/travail/docs/1996/Domestic%20Workers%20Act.pdf).

Hrženjak, M. (2015): Delo kot vsako drugo in hkrati kot nobeno drugo. Strategije urejanja skrbstvenega dela na domu. Socialno delo, 54, 2, 79–88.

Jaehrling, K. (2004): Political Reforms in the Domestic Service Sector – Aims and Impact. In: Chamoux, A. F. (ed.): Domestic Service and the formation of European Identity. Bern, Peter Lang, 235–246.

Jana. Ljubljana, 1977–.

Jastrow, H. (1899): Domestic Servants in Germany. Their Economic, Social and Legal Position. The Economic Journal, 36, 9, 625–633.

Klots, A. (2017): The Kitchen Maid that will Rule the State: Domestic Service and the Soviet Revolutionary Project, 1917–1941. Dissertation. New Brunswick, New Jersey, The State University of New Jersey.

Kmetijske in rokodelske novice. Ljubljana, 1843–1902.

Lazarević, Ž. (2015): Spremembe in zamišljanja. Gospodarsko-zgodovinske refleksije. Ljubljana, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino.

Levy, C. (2009): Lords and Peasants. In: Berger, S. (ed.): A Companion to Nineteenth Century Europe, 1789–1914. Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, 70–85.

Louvier, F. (2019): Beyond the Black and White: Female Domestic Servants, Dress and Identity in France and Britain, 1900–1939. Cultural and Social History, 16, 5, 581–602.

May, V. H. (2011): Unprotected Labor: Household Workers, Politics, and Middle Class Reform in New York 1870–1940. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.

Milčinski, F. (2000): Dnevnik. Ljubljana, Slovenska matica.

Naša moč. Ljubljana, 1905–1911.

Neetha, N. (2009): Contours Of Domestic Service: Characteristics, Work Relations And Regulation. The Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 52, 3, 489–506.

Nova doba. Celje, 1919–1941.

Novi čas. Ljubljana, 1921–1922.

Obči državljanski zakonik (1928): z dne 1. junija 1811, štev. 946 zb.p.z. v besedilu treh delnih novel. Ljubljana, Tiskovan zadruga Ljubljana.

Richter, J. (2015): What is "Domestic Service" Anyway? Producing Household Labourers in Austria (1918–1938). In: Hoerder, D., Nederveen Meerkerk, E. van & S. Neunsin (eds.): Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers. Leiden, Boston, Brill, 484–510.

Sarti, R. (2005a): Conclusion. Domestic service and European identity. Final report of the Servent project European Commision. Urbino, Italy. Http://www.people.uniurb.it/RaffaellaSarti/old_servant_project_conclusion (last access: 03.04.2008).

Sarti, R. (2005b): Freedom and Citizenship? The Legal Status of Servants and Domestic Workers in a Comparative Perspective (16th–21st Centuries). In: Pasleau, S. & I. Schopp (eds): Proceedings of the Servant Project. Liège, Éditions de l'Université de Liège, 127–164.

Sarti, R. (2006): Domestic Service: Past and Present in Southern and Northern Europe. Gender & History, 18, 2, 222–245.

Sarti, R. (2014): Historians, Social Scientists, Servants, and Domestic Workers: Fifty Years of Research on Domestic and Care Work. International Review of Social History, 59, 2, 279–314.

Sejni zapiski Skupščine socialistične republike Slovenije (1960): Seje od 1. 11. 1959 do 31. 1. 1960. Ljubljana, Skupščina SRS.

Sejni zapiski Skupščine socialistične republike Slovenije (1966): Seje od 1. 12. do 31. 12. 1966. Ljubljana, Skupščina SRS.

Sejni zapisniki. Narodne vlade Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov v Ljubljani in deželnih vlad za Slovenijo, 1918–1921. Del 3: Od 22. mar. 1920 do 9. jul. 1921. Kološa, V. (ur.). Ljubljana, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, 2002.

Selišnik, I. & A. Cergol Paradiž (2019): Spremembe v uradniškem poklicu in njegova feminizacija. In: Gabrič, A. (ed.): Slovenski prelom 1918. Ljubljana, Slovenska matica, 267–293.

SI ZAL, LJU 285 – Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana (SI ZAL), Splošno žensko društvo (LJU/285).

Slovenec. Ljubljana, 1873–1945.

Slovenka. Ljubljana, 1919.

Sogner, S. (2004): The Legal Status of Servants in Norway from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century. In: Fauve Chamoux, A. (ed.): Domestic Service and the formation of European Identity. Bern, Peter Lang, 175–187.

Spagnolo, R. (2006): When Private Home meets Public Workplace: Service, Space and the Urban Domestic in 1920s Russia. In: Naiman, E. & C. Kaier (eds): Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia: Taking the Revolution Inside. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 230–255.

Staatsgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich. Wien, Österreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1919–1920.

Studen, A. (1995): Stanovati v Ljubljani. Ljubljana, Studia humanitatis.

Šuštar, L. (1993): Gospodinjske pomočnice v prvem desetletju socialističnega obdobja. Kronika, 41, 1, 15–22.

Testen Koren, P. & A. Cergol Paradiž (2021): The Excluded amongst the Excluded? Trst/Trieste and (Slovene) Servants after the First World War. Acta Histriae, 29 (forthcoming).

Učiteljski tovariš. Ljubljana, 1861–1941.

Uradni list deželne vlade za Slovenijo. Ljubljana, Delniška tiskarna, 1919–1921.

Uradni list Socialistične republike Slovenije. Ljubljana, Časopisni zavod Uradni list SRS, 1963–1990.

Uradni list Republike Slovenije. Ljubljana, Služba Vlade RS za zakonodajo, 1990–.

Večerni list. Ljubljana, 1919–1920.

Verginella, M. (2006): Ženska obrobja. Vpis žensk v zgodovino Slovencev. Ljubljana, Delta.

Vilfan, S. (1996): Pravna zgodovina Slovencev. Ljubljana, Slovenska matica.

Wright, D. C. & C. J. TeSelle (2012): Theorizing History: Separate Spheres, the Public/Private Binary and a New Analytic for Family Law History. Australia & New Zealand Law and History E-journal, 44, 2, 44–77.

Žagar, J. (1986): Služkinje v Ljubljani. Traditiones, 15, 19–49.

Ženski svet. Ljubljana, 1923–1941.

Žnidaršič, S. Ž. (2000): Ora et Labora – in molči, ženska! Ljubljana, *cf.

Received: 2021-06-28 DOI 10.19233/AH.2021.38

TOBACCO WORKERS IN LJUBLJANA (1912–1962): SOME GENDER-SENSITIVE INSIGHTS INTO SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Urška STRLE
University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: strleu@ff.uni-lj.si

ABSTRACT

The article addresses the social aspects of tobacco history, the empirical basis of which are mainly serial sources but also other fragmental remains of the archival fund of the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana. The scope of the article will cover the final years of the Habsburg Empire, the period of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (from 1929 on known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), and the initial years of Tito's Yugoslavia, with ruptures inflicted by the two world wars. Such a temporal framework was chosen deliberately to detect continuities and discontinuities of social transformations throughout various political regimes, in particular how they affected the sphere of labor in the tobacco industry. Due to manageable numbers of workers stretching from about 500 to 2500 over the observed period and among which women always dominated, the sources used also allow for a thorough analysis of gender aspects in the intersectional perspective.

Keywords: tobacco workers, socio-political transitions, gender, labor relations, social history

LAVORATORI DEL TABACCO A LUBIANA (1912–1962): ALCUNE OSSERVAZIONI RIGUARDANTI IL GENERE E LA TRASFORMAZIONE SOCIALE

SINTESI

L'articolo si concentra sugli aspetti sociali della storia del tabacco e sull'analisi delle fonti seriali in particolare sulla documentazione conservata nel fondo archivistico della fabbrica di tabacco di Lubiana. Cronologicamente l'articolo prende in considerazione gli ultimi anni dell'Impero asburgico, il periodo del Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni (dal 1929 conosciuto come il Regno di Jugoslavia), oltre ai primi anni della Jugoslavia di Tito, con le due interruzioni durante le due guerre mondiali. L'ambito temporale è stato scelto deliberatamente per poter rilevare le continuità e le discontinuità delle trasformazioni sociali durante i vari regimi politici e soprattutto per capire come avevano influenzato la sfera del lavoro nell'industria del tabacco. L'entità dei lavoratori, che nei periodi trattati oscillava tra 500 e 2500 persone, era in gran parte composta da donne. Le fonti usate ci consentono di studiare gli aspetti legati al genere in una prospettiva intersezionale.

Parole chiave: lavoratori del tabacco, transizioni socio-politiche, genere, rapporti di lavoro, storia sociale

INTRODUCTION[1]

The Tobacco Ljubljana Factory had a long tradition of making diverse tobacco products, stretching from 1871 until 2004. Its production, management, marketing as well as the composition of the work force changed quite extensively throughout the years of the factory's existence. These sectors were affected by technological developments and other panoptic phenomena, such as both world wars, the break-up of Yugoslavia and global economic curves, and also by profound socio-political changes following each war. Although the factory was in operation for 133 years, this article deals only with a sequence of 50 years in this dynamic period. It covers the final years of the Habsburg Empire, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1929 onward), and the initial years of Tito's Yugoslavia, with ruptures inflicted by the two world wars. Within the chosen period, an abysmal economic crisis also occurred in the 1930s, which severely affected the factory's operational abilities. Such a temporal framework was chosen deliberately to detect continuities and discontinuities of the social processes following the crisis, in particular how it affected the sphere of labor in the tobacco industry. This ever-changing nature of labor relations, which allows for intriguing observations, should not be considered an unusual perspective, but a key research paradigm.

Why is a factory of tobacco products, which from the very start employed predominantly women from economically underprivileged town in the first half of the 20th century, significant at all? Where does its historical explanatory value lie? What can it tell us about the past? Although the current scholarly trend leans towards writing a comprehensive global history of labor, notable historians such as Jan Lucassen, Marcel van der Linden, and Andreas Eckert express awareness of a myriad of regional variations of world economic developments, of which particularly underrepresented areas should be brought into focus and contextualized globally (Lucassen, 2006; Linden, 2003; 2008; Linden & Himmelstoss, 2010; Eckert, 2016). Jan Lucassen in particular stresses that classical scheme, based primarily on theoretical knowledge, in many aspects contradict complicated historical facts. Lucassen therefore calls for a more empirical and comparative approach (Lucassen, 2013, 28).

Many global socio-economic phenomena affected work processes and labor relations in Ljubljana's tobacco factory. Because it – like the tobacco industry in general – has been recognized as an important provider of high excise tax throughout its history, it can also serve as an observatory to follow changing social trends induced directly by the state. Naturally, archival material mirrors trends on a macro level, influenced in its nuance also by its own local and historical specifics. Despite their richness, historical sources of the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana remain inadequately analyzed and have failed to be compared to tobacco manufacturing elsewhere. The current state of research is still far

1 This article was first elaborated upon within the EIRENE project (full title: Post-war transitions in gendered perspective: the case of the North-Eastern Adriatic Region), founded by the European Research Council under Horizon 2020 financed Advanced Grant funding scheme [ERC Grant Agreement n. 742683].

from finalized. Its findings are based on intense empirical analysis while its comparative prospect is still rather weak.

The points of departure for the research are made difficult by the poor bibliography and relatively recent research engagement regarding the tobacco factory history in the region. Austrian State Monopoly, the long-term manager of Tobacco Factory Ljubljana, administrated 29 other tobacco factories in the Austrian part of the Habsburg monarchy and was established in order to increase the belated industrialization in the state and to collect a significant amount of taxes. Other nearby tobacco factories active throughout the twentieth century – with the exception of two relatively short-lived ones, the one in Trieste that operated between 1957 and 1999 (Cenzon, 2012) and the other in Pula/Pola, established in 1920 to alleviate the WWI crisis and shut down in 1947 once Pula belonged to Yugoslavia (Marsetič, 2016) – were initially part of the same monopoly:

- Tobacco factory Rovinj, the factory with the longest tradition of tobacco production in the northeastern Adriatic region, established in 1872, and aside from a war-induced break between 1915–1919, still in operation (Marizza, 1997; Nikolić Đerić, 2015);
- Tobacco factory Klagenfurt, established in 1864, was transformed into a factory of aircraft parts manufacturing in 1941 and was razed in a bomb raid in 1945 (Kreuzer, 2009);
- Tobacco factory Rijeka/Fiume, established in 1851, closed down in 1941 with the dawn of WWII and finally terminated production in 1947 (Claessens & Duin, 2004).

As is evident from the operating periods alone, the existence of tobacco factories in the region was transient, despite growing demands for tobacco products. By bringing forth an outline of the factories' existence, I argue that this vulnerability was related also to the sweeping socio-political changes that affected the observed border region. Publications addressing the factory and listed in the bibliography address the workforce and labor relations in the factory only to a lesser degree. Thus, this article will address findings in regard to the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana alone. The intention is to thoroughly analyze labor relations within the factory, thereby constructing a solid basis for future comparative examinations.

The article highlights some considerations emerging from the not yet completed examination of available archival files of the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana, kept in the Historical Archive of Ljubljana. Its empirical basis is drawn mainly from serial historical sources such as worker's booklets and worker's registers, containing personal data and work-related information. Various administrative entries were observed also to elucidate upon aspects of changing social processes such as workers' physical and social mobility, job fluctuation, trends of employability, and workers' organizations and interpersonal relations, thus adding to numbers and facts a multi-faceted historical matter. I also tend to understand these trends in a gendered perspective, which is well perceptible in the observed sources.

Apart from these two kinds of sources, there is a vast layer of other documents, addressing the history of labor in the Tobacco factory Ljubljana. They refer to reports, minutes, public speeches, attempts to write a chronology of the factory, occasional ego-documents and are part of newer documentation relevant to socialist Yugoslavia. The more we approach the modern day, the more the nature of sources changes, becomes less strictly numerical and becomes more human. Last but not least, younger periods also shed light onto the phenomenon of interpersonal relationships, proving impactful on the formation of values, knowledge and social activities. All these sources, despite their valuable subjective insights, arose in accord with censorship and party control that affected their accuracy and reliability to a certain degree.

Observation of qualitative aspects of these kinds of sources confirms the notion that nothing had ever been achieved on a permanent basis and that there is no simple linear development in the sense of a monochromatic progressive trend, but a changeable and barely predictable developing line, conditioned by a complex set of socio-economic factors. Such a remark is not valid only by observing the period as a whole, as evolutionary variability is evident also within a certain political regime.

K. K. TABAKHAUPTFABRIK LAIBACH (UNTIL 1918)

Some of the most thorough historical changes in relation to factory workers (including tobacco workers) were already achieved in the Austrian monarchy (Kresal, 1997, 65–68). Since the late 1860s, workers started to organize into syndicates, educational associations, and political organizations, thus becoming a recognized agent in relation to their employer and the state, respectively. In 1883, the post of labor inspectorate was introduced in Austria, presenting a feeble starting point for the gradual and long-lasting process of worker protection in terms of social security and hygiene conditions.[2] Although the Austrian period is not crucial for this article, it has to be emphasized that in decades before the Great War, the workers' movement accomplished a great deal. Legally – alas, not always validated in practice – this meant a fixed minimum salary, regulated working hours (11 per day) with a break, restriction of work for minors under 14 years of age, prohibition of employing women and minors in difficult, hazardous work places and overnight shifts. An employer had to ensure appropriate work place and housing if factory apartments had been offered to workers. The legislature defined relations between an employer and employee in terms of responsibilities and rights of both parties, by constituting the basics of a collective contract between worker and employer (Kresal, 1997, 65). There were still many things to be achieved, especially in the field of work insurance. Whereas for the case of accident at work and sickness Austria followed Germany and introduced general mandatory insurance already by 1888 (before Italy, England, France, Russia, Norway and Sweden), unqualified workers could not compensate their loss of payment in case of retirement, disability, unemployment, maternity, or death (Kresal, 1970, 216–217; Brussatti, 1965, 154–157). Also, the gender-based battle for equal payment for the same work and equivalent participation in decision-making still had a long way to go.

2 For an overview of Austrian legislature of social politics cf. Brussatti, 1965, 151–154; Brügel, 1919.

In 1912, the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana had already passed four decades of continuous production of various tobacco goods. The Tobacco Factory Ljubljana was the second largest tobacco factory in the state, labeled as first class. By the end of the war, the factory was by far the greatest factory in the Carniolan capital which was home to a dispersed and small-range industrial and artisan production (Lazarevič, 2001, 111). Establishment of the factory contributed to an evident shift in the town's employment image taking into focus the aspect of gender. Studies have shown that not only Ljubljana but Carniola as a whole (and other Slovenian lands) demonstrated a rather high share of employed women from the turn of the 20th century on, affecting women's position economically and socially. The crucial reason for such a trend lies in the nature of industrial development in the region, exhibiting a considerable portion of textile, nutritional, and paper production, as well as other industrial sectors labelled as *labor-intensive industries* (Lazarevič, 2015, 9–10). From the 1890s onward, women started to outnumber men among Ljubljana's industrial workers, and more than half of them worked in the tobacco factory (Fischer, 1984, 26).

Once the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana was established, it attracted the female work force from other factories.[3] Such a trend probably reflected the fact that the Austro-Hungarian tobacco factories in general were regarded as socially oriented (Augeneder, 1987, 181). At the turn of the century, the one in Ljubljana had a kitchen, dining room, decent toilets for men and women separately, medical spaces with a doctor, a library and kindergarten (Fischer, 1984, 16–17), outdoing working conditions of other factories in the town and alleviating domestic duties of female workers considerably. These places could be regarded as progressive welfare aspects of factory labor, which were taken over and upgraded across many other industries in the post-WWII period.

Although the situation in the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana was far from optimal, it was much better than elsewhere. "Cigararice", a colloquial term, literally meaning a female cigar-makers, were considered the most privileged factory workers in the country;[4] the salary was rather high and they also had the possibility to retire on a pension. The tobacco factory attracted a lot of younger girls, at least about 40% from the countryside and from the field of domestic service.[5] The growing aspirations of women to earn their own wage reflects not only a wish to be financially autonomous and socially more desired, but also shows the need for cash, indicating a growth in consumerism (Studen, 2016). A trend

3 SI ZAL, LJU 134/3, t. e. 86, a. e. 1004, Chronicle of the Tobacco factory Ljubljana with commentaries, a collective assignment of the historical circle of the Marjan Novak Jovo Primary School, Ljubljana Vič, 1976.

4 Similarly, the article concerning »tabacheine« in Rovinj at the turn of the 20th century, claims that »*the factory has always been perceived as a gift to the local community, especially women*«, although it demystifies this statement (Nikolić Đerić, 2015, 173–188).

5 SI ZAL, LJU 134/3, t. e. 86, a. e. 1004. Moreover, ethnologist Slavko Kremenšek states that Ljubljana-born workers counted less than a third of all female workers. This share is based on a fairly narrower idea of what he considered as Ljubljana proper at the turn of the century (Kremenšek, 1976, 96). An interesting, yet quite cynical observation of "cigararice" as "venus ultraliberalis" was presented by Jakob Aleševec in his satirical account on inhabitants of Ljubljana (1876).

which at the turn of the century obviously involved not only urban parts of Ljubljana, but also increasingly the surrounding rural, agricultural areas as well.[6]

In pre-war years, Slovenian women from nearby locales prevailed among unqualified workers, males of Slovenian descent were largely qualified or semi-qualitied artisans, while administration was almost exclusively male and mostly German speaking. The first two female auxiliary white-collar workers were employed only in 1913.[7] Besides occasional clashes which mirrored tensions based upon the ever more actual "national question" present among Slovenes and Germans, the factory workers were also divided ideologically, which reflected in the formation of two unions. The social democratic union, encompassing majorly those stemming from the town's proletariat, was gathered around the figure of Etbin Kristan. One of the social democrat trade unionists was also "a decisive and combative" Ljubljana-born tobacco worker, Edvard Kardelj's mother Ivanka, née Breceljnik (1881–1944) (Ratej, 2014, 69), whose sisters Micka and Antonija also worked in the factory.[8] The other trade union followed Christian-democratic ideas spread by Janez E. Krek and encompassed 70–90% of the workers, mainly those originating from rural areas (Čepič, 1991, 30; Kremenšek, 1976, 98).

> *Foremen treat tobacco workers much better than before. Health conditions improved considerably. As a result, tobacco workers are now healthier than they used to be, and far fewer workers (delavci in delavke) are dying from TB, exhausting work and starvation. Tobacco workers also gained a significant improvement in their material condition. They are proud to get better wages and regulated pensions. However, not everything that tobacco workers should get has been achieved yet,* wrote Josip Gostinčar, Christian democrat, Krek's associate and politician (Krek, 1912, 5).

In 1912, when Gostinčar's lines were published, the number of workers started to decline. The work force dropped below 2200 persons for the first time in 17 years. This was a sign of economic recession, conditioned also by the start of tragic prelude of the Great War, the Balkan Wars, which gravely affected the surrounding area. Also, enterprises across Austria-Hungary felt its consequences, especially those economically involved with South-Eastern Europe. The Great War imposed a huge change in tobacco production and trade, but also a notable drop in administrative activities. As the majority of white-collar workers were enlisted, there is great lack of historical sources for all years of the war. Comparison of various sources elucidates on inconsistencies – whereas workers' registers enlisted 14 new employees, namely female refugees from Galicia and Istria (mainly from the factory Rovinj), newspapers and various memoirs report on work of refugees from Gorizia as well (Strle, 2015, 115).

6 The rural population did not put much stock into luxury goods, which were advertised in the newspapers. They instead invested money into items for agricultural needs and, as evident from the interesting notes of peasant housemaid Neža Rejec, for medical purposes (TM, Osebni in družinski fondi, t. e. 9, *Rejec, Neža: Dnevnik stroškov in dogodkov* [Diary of costs and events]).

7 SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 11, Matična knjiga stalnih radnika [Register of permanent employees], 1879–1935.

8 Popisi prebivalstva [Population censuses] 1890, 1910 and 1910.

UNDER THE MONOPOLY OF BELGRADE (1918–1941)

Economic growth after the Great War demonstrated its slowest rate in contemporary European history (Berend, 2013, 94). This troublesome reality affected the newly established kingdom even more and on almost all levels of socio-political life, as presented through its ambiguous interplay of aspects both continuous and sporadic. Pro-Habsburg management and administration were left no choice but to leave their positions. The state tobacco monopoly moved from Vienna to Belgrade, which from 1918 supervised eight tobacco factories, among which the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana was the oldest and among the most significant.[9] War exhausted the tobacco warehouse, production declined by two thirds compared to the pre-war years, the number of workers almost halved and their social security was at stake.[10] Poor working conditions, indecent salaries, layoffs, slow governmental responses, and growing inflation pushed tobacco workers to the edge.

Impressed by the worldwide strike movement and following solidarity calls for strike actions of tobacco workers in Zagreb, Sarajevo, Banja Luka, and Niš, the tobacco workers in Ljubljana also organized a strike in 1920. It is noteworthy though, that women were reported to be excluded from the protests during the strike by its social-democratic organizers, and thus the majority of tobacco workers continued working.[11] It is not yet clear why such a gender-based decision took place, although it most probably reflects the mental and ideological framework of the social democracy in Ljubljana. In the turbulent post-war time, social-democrats split into progressive and conservative factions where the latter clearly withdrew from the support of political claims of women. It seems that the gender-biased context of the strike was a consequence of various local features, including the interpersonal realities within the social-democratic movement itself.

To a current-day historian, the most evident change exhibited by the political regime lies in the nature of administrative sources, which became more sporadic, poorer and statistically undervalued, especially in comparison to former Austrian standards, although many procedural and regulative proceedings remained the same. According to these sources, the employment rate in the factory increased only in the mid-1920s.[12] In 1925, the first new women workers were employed. Moreover, among the 43 workers hired, women represented 58% of the newly employed working force. Whereas women occupied unqualified positions in the production of tobacco goods, men were hired also as carpenters, locksmiths, night-

9 The Yugoslav tobacco factories were in Banja Luka, Ljubljana, Mostar, Niš, Sarajevo, Travnik, Zagreb, and Senj.

10 *Harman, glasilo Tobačne Ljubljana,* 3. 3. 1959: V. Ambrož, *Delavsko gibanje med obema vojnama v Tobačni tovarni Ljubljana* [The workers' movement between the two world wars in the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana], 16.

11 *Slovenec*, 14. 4. 1920: *Stavka v tobačni tovarni* [Tobacco factory strike], 3; *Naprej*, 14. 4. 1920, *Stavka tobačnega delavstva* [Tobacco workers' strike], 2. In parallel, female tobacco workers in Rovinj attended solidarity strikes as well.

12 SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 9, Knjiga sezonskih delavcev [Book of seasonal workers] (1915–1935); t. e. 11, Matična knjiga delavstva [Workers' register] (1923–1939).



Fig. 1: Production hall in the 1930s, author: Hugon Hibšer (Mestni muzej Ljubljana / City Museum of Ljubljana – MGML, št. / No. 65574).

guards and officials. A year later, 9 unqualified female workers as well as 3 women officials were employed out of the 23 new employees total.

Despite all the effort and good intentions reflected in the social legislature of the Kingdom SHS, the tobacco workers' conditions did not improve (Kresal, 1982, 109–115). Furthermore, in comparison to the pre-war times, their situation actually worsened in many aspects. Workers' booklets of the interwar time demonstrate a division in the work force between permanent, temporary and seasonal workers. Whereas permanent workers had represented the largest group of employees until 1913, they became a rare breed after 1918, getting their status only after 5 years of permanent work. The status of temporary or seasonal worker was much cheaper for management, as only permanently employed workers were entitled to receive pension insurance. That stimulated a manipulative trend, one that is clearly visible in workers' registers: workers were often fired and employed again shortly thereafter, and thus lost the possibility of achieving permanent employment. Strikingly, registers of permanent workers listed no women from 1918 up to 1935. In this period, permanent positions were only reserved for administrative decision-makers, a few dozen qualified artisans and some unqualified male workers.

Another obstacle for permanent employment in the interwar was the age of an employee. Many of those who had permanent records were prematurely retired. On the other hand, notes in the workers' registers clearly show the practice that dictated men

who were over 40 and women older than 35 at the time of employment could not be permanently employed. Thus, Elizabeta Matjašič, born in Ptuj in 1889, could not attain permanent employment in 1926 because she was considered too old. Some factual details of Elizabeta's unfortunate fate add to the harshness of that time: the 37-year-old mother of four children became a widow just 10 days before she was accepted in the factory, which insinuates financial difficulties triggered by the death of her husband, while her seasonal status in the factory did not resolve her vulnerable social position.

The unfavorable post-war years added to an overall dejection with the global consequences of the Wall Street Crash of 1929, which left a deep imprint upon the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana as well. However, only 20 new employees had been employed already between 1927 and 1929. They were all men, apart from one poorly paid female auxiliary worker. Massive layoffs due to "lack of work" followed in 1930 and 1931, however many of the workers left by themselves. This clearly indicates worsening in the tobacco workers' status. Salaries were lowered several times and ninety workers retired in 1932. Among them was also 29-year-old Marija Gorup from Ljubljana, an inspector with a permanent labor contract. It is also obvious from the workers' register that the factory had not hired any new workers from August 1930 until November 1932. Only then did work positions for 19 women and 13 men open up. The newly occupied working places reveal that the management was struggling with the crisis by saving money on salary expenses. Women workers earned 25 dinar, regardless of actual position (worker or auxiliary worker), while male auxiliary workers were employed for 29 dinar daily.[13]

At this point we should briefly focus our attention on the interesting practice of payment according to gender. Before the crisis, unqualified workers of both sexes had the same salary. When payment cuts of 20% hit both men and women workers alike due to the crisis, the eventual increase of salaries from 1932 and onward did not apply to women. Women were also not entitled to receive child benefits applying to children up to 14 years of age unless they were widows or wives of disabled husbands. Despite all the difficulties, the position of tobacco worker was still one of the most coveted among factory workers. This indicates the difficult position of workers across the country, reflected in the archival material as unstable and precarious and pointing toward a large amount of undeclared work. According to Tomažič (1972–73, 83), many tobacco workers often increased their poor income by helping out ("*pedenunga*") in the taverns.

The economic restoration in the 2nd half of the 1930s is also evident from the workers' registers. They indicate that permanent employment contracts became a rule from November 1936 onward, valid for those temporarily employed who had demonstrated 5 years of work. During 1937, the factory employed 151 new workers. Among them were 145 women (96%), the majority of whom were let go and then re-hired a month later (comp. Kresal, 1998, 99). Up to the outbreak of WWII, no further employment on such a massive scale took place.

13 Salaries in the Tobacco factory Ljubljana in 1934 for the comparison (din/daily): engineer 56, officials 34–48 (depending on the position), carpenter 42, locksmith 42, mason 38,5, electrician 38, gardener 37, inspector 35 daily worker 28,50, apprentice 8 (SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 11, Matična knjiga delavstva [Workers' register] (1923–1939)).

THE DISTURBANCE OF WAR (1941–1945)

Although Yugoslavia was not yet a war-ridden state in September 1939, it was affected by economic changes due to the conflict, which gradually hit the greater part of Europe. By April 1941, almost all European states faced troubles with free trade of various goods and introduced war economy (Berend, 2013, 92), including the neighboring states of Yugoslavia, all members of the Axis powers. The Yugoslavian government and other authorities responded to those changes with a series of measures in anticipation of war (Ferenc, 2005, 506). Also, the Tobacco factory Ljubljana showed signs of growing uncertainty, going by the already negative employment rate in 1940; according to workers registers, it only hired 4 male workers and let go 10 of them.[14]

The remaining worker booklets (majorly belonging to women) give us an impression of women's employment within interwar Ljubljana and its nearby surroundings. The vast majority of tobacco workers employed during the war had prior work experience. Before being hired at the tobacco factory, they worked as house-maids, textile workers, farmhands, seamstresses, clerks, workers in paper-making enterprises and brick-making manufactures. In short, the majority of women came from the field of domestic service and from private artisans.

With the Italian occupation of the Province of Ljubljana, the tobacco enterprise in May 1941 belonged to the third state monopoly in its history, *Monopoli di Stato Italiani*. Conspicuously enough, workers' registers do not mark any new employment from April 1941 until March 1942 while 40 new workers are employed afterwards, all of them women. Under Italian management, the salaries lowered drastically. They were more than halved in comparison with pre-war years; women received a miserable 10,74 lira daily up to May 1943, when it rose to 13,91 lira.

After the armistice with Italy, the Tobacco factory Ljubljana did not belong to a German monopoly, but, following October 1943, to a pro-Nazi autonomous monopoly office in the city of Ljubljana, subordinated to the head of the provincial management, general Leon Rupnik. Although salaries in this period rose again, the production of tobacco products dropped severely and was intended primarily for the German army. Tobacco "leftovers" meant for civil use were distributed using ration cards in 1944, demonstrating noteworthy gender-based particularities. Namely, ration cards initially allowed 10 daily cigarettes to men and only 5 to women. In 1945, the daily amount dropped to 5 for men and 2 for women (Čepič, 1991, 42–43). However, not all women were allowed to receive ration cards. They were limited additionally according to age: those under 22 and over 55 were not entitled to such "benefits".[15] Consequently, the tobacco black market flourished. Prices quadrupled during the war, reaching from 13 to 15 lira for a single cigarette in 1944. There were also frequent

14 SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 10, Matična knjiga delavstva [Workers' register] (1939–1945).

15 UL, Naredba o potrošnji tobaka [Order on Tobacco Consumption], Ljubljana, dne 21. decembra 1943, Službeni list šefa pokrajinske uprave v Ljubljani [Official Gazette of the Head of the Provincial Administration in Ljubljana], 1943, 478–479.

cases of theft of tobacco items from the factory by the workers themselves – despite threats of dismissal (Čepič, 1991, 43).

The merciless reality of war left a lasting mark on the personnel in the factory. According to workers' registers, permanent employment was an exception, there was also great insecurity due to the harsh militarized social climate. Quite a few cases of incarceration and internment of tobacco workers were reported due to confirmed or suspected relations with the resistance movement.[16] Surprisingly, arrested workers' wives received a maintenance fee and child allowances, unless they were suspected of cooperation with the resistance as well. Although women were not as noteworthy as targets of military interest as men, they too were dismissed from the factory in quite a few cases. As their dismissal left behind no explanation in the workers' register, their participation in the resistance movement could not be excluded as the cause, given the large number of women taking part in a varied spectrum of illegal activities in the liberation movement (Gerk, 1970; Jerina-Lah, 1996; Bernik Burja, 2009; Deželak Barič, 2015). Women tobacco workers were present in the liberation movement from the very beginning.[17]

On the other hand, notes in the workers' register also point at a handful of male workers who were not on the side of the resistance movement, were reluctant to it or simply chose the non-partisan option as being more comfortable and socially secure. Although we cannot be sure of their ideological adherence, it is clear that the pro-Nazi and anti-communist head of the provincial management economically stimulated anti-partisan military choices. Thus, two workers were engaged in the Todt organization and one "went to work for the SS soldiers und Waffen Unterführerschutz Laibach". They received no payment from the tobacco factory, just assurance of a position in the factory after their return.

According to the workers' register, three workers entered the Slovene Home Guard paramilitary service (*domobranci*), led by Leon Rupnik, the managing chief of the Tobacco factory Ljubljana, and received substantial social benefits for the duration of their service – a full factory salary. To bring the insight of the utilized historical source closer, I decided to point to Anton Slana, a single, 28-year-old daily worker without qualifications from Brezovica. The three-part remark in his personal file is indicative:

> *On 6 September 1944, he went to serve the in the Home Guard, as a result of which, according to the decision of the head of the provincial administration in Ljubljana, I. no. 6431 item 17 on 29 August 1944, he was entitled to the full salary for the period of service. See act Tov. no. 1155 of 30. 9.1944.*
> *On 22 January 1945, he resumed factory work. See act. Tov. no. 138 of 18 January 1945.*
> *On 9 June 1945, dismissed inclusive 31 May 1945 for violation of §25 point 2 of the Rules of Work.*[18]

16 SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 34, Speech of the director Mirko Knez in 1952.

17 A handful of "cigararce" were members of the Liberation Front (SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 102, a. e. 1907); Revolutionary movement before and during the war, manuscript by Franci Miš [s.a].

18 SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 10, Matična knjiga delavstva [Workers' Register] (1939–1945).

Without any biographical context of Anton Slana's case, we cannot speculate what stimulated his decision to join the Home Guard. However, even if his military service lasted only a couple of months, it was most probably evaluated as unacceptable in the post-war society. The last remark, already written in the post-war period, presumably relates less to the violation of work rules and more to an administratively supported removal of a worker who was most probably considered a pro-Nazi collaborator, a traitor. While existing data make any conclusions open-ended, the fact of Slana's dismissal doubtlessly points at the birth of a new era. The era of state-induced socialism, which brought far better opportunities for the working class than ever before, yet – marking no significant difference compared to previous historical periods – turned out to be exclusionary to its ideological opponents. The dividing wartime reality, properly embedded in the widespread phrase "either with us or against us," stretched into the post-war period.

"HONOR AND AUTHORITY TO WORK!" (1945–1962)

The Yugoslav legacy of the war appears quite tragic in the comparative perspective as given by Tony Judt in his renowned monograph *Postwar*. In regard to the war-related death toll, Yugoslavia infamously came in second in Europe, directly after Poland, and thus suffered a striking shortage of men. The material consequences were appalling as well. The economical infrastructure was severely damaged, including one third of its pre-war industrial capacities (Judt, 2005, 17–18). Also, the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana, again lead from Belgrade after June 1945, entered the post-war period with numbers already in the red, damaged by bombings, the machinery outdated, work force reduced and without sufficient supplies of tobacco. An impression from the workers' booklets hints that the factory recovered quicker than following WWI. First, massive employment already occurred between 1946 and 1948, that is in the years when productive capabilities rose again and after the first five-year plan (*petletka*) was set in motion.

Immediate post-war economic modernization turned away from patterns of the European West. It also deviated from the directives outlined by communist political leaders during the war, namely from prototypical ideas of national self-determination and self-management of the working people as evident from the inner functioning of Slovene National Liberation Committee (Vodušek Starič, 1983, 11). Instead, it adapted the socialist Soviet model comprising nationalization of property, hyper-centralized economic planning, and fostered industrialization (Prinčič, 2005). Initiatives of working groups, appropriated from the Soviet concept of "*udarnik,*"[19] also took place in the Tobacco factory Ljubljana. Workers' booklets clearly indicate that collective voluntary work, renovation work, the economization of labor and innovation

19 A campaign intended to increase worker productivity and to demonstrate the superiority of the socialist economic system, known also as *Stakhanovite movement*.

in productive processes was stimulated either by public praise or financial rewards. According to data in workers' booklets, financial stimulations where higher for men than for women.

In 1947, women represented about 65% of the entire work force, of which high-qualified workers comprised 1,89%, qualified 8,81%, semi-qualified 64,11%, and unqualified 23,18%.[20] The work force according to both genders was gradually getting more diverse in terms of positions within the factory, which demonstrates the growing complexity of work processes. Right in this period, the feminization of white-collar workers in the factory took place, as women gradually gained a considerable share among accountants, secretaries, recording clerks, and more gradually also as sectional leaders. In parallel, the previous working experiences of blue-collar workers changed as well, exhibiting a noticeably wider plethora of skills. Traditional occupations, typical for pre-war women in the area of Ljubljana and surroundings (domestic servants, seamstresses, textile workers, sellers and brick-makers), were upgraded with a noteworthy share of categories unusual for female assignments, such as bakelite worker, glass inspector, railway worker, and various types of artisans and industrial workers. Such a shift, as is evident from workers' booklets, is doubtlessly a sign of social modernization, but also a reflection of the economic hardship that accelerated during wartime, when women had to take on many "manly" duties (Verginella, 2006, 53).

The Informbiro period, starting in June 1948, also imposed an economic blockade upon Yugoslavia by the USSR and its adherent states. New terms in international relations stimulated Yugoslav redirection into self-management, a holistic socio-economical system conditioned not only by collectivized property, but also by collective decision-making and dividing profit between workers in market-targeting enterprises (Rusinow, 1977; Vodušek Starič, 1983; Samary, 2017). The Tobacco Factory Ljubljana officially launched self-managing orientation by introducing the first workers' council on 24 August 1950, following the example of many other Yugoslav enterprises.[21] However, in contrast to other worker's councils of Slovene (or Yugoslav) industries, the tobacco factory included into its deciding body a markedly bigger share of women (Vodušek Starič, 1983, 94; Čepič, 2005, 963).[22] Although no female director was ever in charge of the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana, there were women always present in both the workers' councils and management board of the factory during the time of the Socialist regime.[23]

20 SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 13, The chronicle of the factory, manuscript by Viktor Ambrož, 1950.

21 SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 34, a. e. 1, Delu čast in oblast! [Honour and authority to work!], A Ivanka Babnik's speech on the introduction of self-management in the factory, 1950.

22 The first worker's council was comprised of 8 women out of 24 of council members, presenting one third (33%) of the council: Vida Pezdir, Slava Dolinšek, Angela Šušteršič, Ela Žulj, Minka Kos, Marija Tancar, Slava Japelj, and Pavla Knez. The Slovene average of women in workers' councils was only 8%.

23 SI ZAL, LJU 134/3, t. e. 86, a. e. 1004, Chronicle of the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana with commentaries, a collective assignment of the historical circle of the Marjan Novak Jovo Primary School, Ljubljana Vič, 1986.

Despite a considerable shift in official propaganda, many economic historians defend the opinion that Yugoslav economy in many aspects continued with Soviet principles (Prinčič, 2005; Simic, 2018). *Ljudska pravica*, a newsletter of Communist party Slovenia, presents operative units of the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana in its recognizable propagandistic manner, praising the good work ethic of the so-called *udarnik*. The fact that operative units, informally titled with the military term "assault brigades", were named after the leading woman in the working group,[24] hints at the nature of the attitude shift not only toward the working class, but also to women workers – thereby indicating a Soviet influence. However, such empowerment in Slovenia was not only taken from the Marxist ideology and Soviet patterns, but was also based on the massive engagement of women in the national liberation movement during WWII.

Workers' registers after WWII reveal the common practice of women increasing their employability options with additional courses in accounting, bookkeeping, stenography, marketing, statistics, etc. They also show that white-collar workers gained work experience before entering the tobacco factory. For women from the blue-collar sector, the education level was still low, many had not even finished elementary school. The production workers' workplace seems to have been evaluated according to their task abilities and estimations of their superiors. Promotion and transitions between production and administration were possible, but do not appear to have been as frequent. Women were not present among mobile professions such as commercial traveler, yet the number of production foremen among women rose. There are indications supported by memories and chronicles but not by serial sources that women took on the tasks of foremen during both world wars. In 1956, the factory announced a course for qualified workers with a final exam. Only 11 out of 30 workers passed the exam, 9 of whom were women (Horvat, 1960, 21). The Tobacco Factory Ljubljana had by far the highest rate of forewomen (with more than 42% of women leading production lines) compared to other Yugoslavian tobacco factories in 1959.

Minutes, reports, enclosed items of various kinds and other documentation available among the files of the factory's management board provide an idea of how socialist ideology was enforced in the tobacco factory. Apart from productive directives and organization of work processes, they mediated values, which were, when taking into account the preceding periods, definitely worker-friendly. The factory's welfare options from the turn of the century (cantina, medical facilities, library, kindergarten) were significantly improved with rewards for efficient productivity, introducing a division of profit, educational possibilities, housing options, reduction of working hours, extended year leave, leisure activities, possibilities to take advantage of the union's vacation home (in Selce, Kvarner from 1957 on) etc. Requests to shorten work hours due to schooling, sickness, breastfeeding or childcare were usually granted if they were based on an expert's positive opinion. The socially secure position of the working woman seems to have been one of the fundamental issues of the socialist project (Bonfiglioli, 2019).

24 *Ljudska pravica*, 27. 2. 1950: Tobačna tovarna v Ljubljana med najboljšimi svoje stroke v državi [The tobacco factory in Ljubljana is among the best in its field in the country], 1. Working brigades were named after the leaders of production lines, workers Vera Molek, Vera Tavčar, Slavka Bižon in Slava Dolinšek.



Fig. 2: Women's Day celebration, 8. 3. 1963, author: Marjan Ciglič (Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije / Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia – MNZS, št. / No. MC630308_13).

However, documentation elucidating on heterogeneity and social dynamics inside the factory also demonstrates certain contradictions regarding the propagated labor politics and declarations of social equality. Worker inequalities based on skill, education, age, gender, even place of origin/residence, as suggested by Archer and Musić, influenced not only the decision-making and social mobility within the factory, but also the distribution of housing and other restricted benefits (Archer & Musić, 2017). The high share of fluctuation of workers, mostly younger ones, was recognized as a sign of dissatisfaction and seen as a problem by the management board. If we take into account gender specifics in the observed period, we also find that despite their numerical predominance in the factory, women never achieved more than 45% of membership on the management board and only about a third in average.[25] The poor share of women in the decision-making bodies of the factory could be ascribed to a certain amount of disillusionment/distrust in relation to the self-management experiment, which could be sensed through occasional

25 Minutes of the management board between 1960–1962 reveal that the average women’s share in the management board was quite dynamic and it actually dropped in the short sequence taken into account: 36,36% in 1960, 29, 62% in 1961 and 27,57% in 1962. This downfall curve does not define the trend throughout the existence of self-management, which testifies to the slow growth of the women’s share.

complaints of its leaders in the minutes, yet one cannot circumvent the influence of the tenacious tradition of patriarchy. The words of Malči Makarovič, who spoke publicly on Women's Day in March 1961, speak for themselves:

> *It is by no means enough that we have achieved that such a high percent of women was elected to our workers' council and that we are proud to have a woman president due to general slogans and the sincere wish of every one of us. We have not done everything to educate our women systematically into real company managers. Our women will resolve their problems if they will participate as actively as possible in the governing bodies, where their specific problems would also be solved through economic and general social problems.* […]. *The woman must be freed from exclusively domestic work and actively involved in all economic and social activities, as this is the only way to tear her out of the framework of the patriarchy.*[26]

The ardent speaker, who worked as operational planner in the tobacco factory, was among a handful of women whose position eventually turned into a springboard for other public functions.[27] The minutes reveal that their privileged position was conditioned also by less measurable aspects than education, age or skill, namely by personal engagement and aspirations, social reputation and support from their social network.[28] Their organizational activation in the factory often seemed to pave their way to candidacy for various commissions, management boards, and workers' councils as the archival documents clearly show that they took on additional tasks, including voluntary work and appeared as lucid discussants in meeting debates.

Besides, documents also reveal some practices used by the ordinary workers to empower their positions. They indicate how work-related information vividly circulated between the workers, encouraging them to stand for themselves.[29] These practices especially involve submissions for granting (a loan for) housing, rights for additional leave, requests for adjustment of working hours, and pleas for financial supplements.

26 *Harman, glasilo Tobačne Ljubljana*, Marec 1961: Malči Makarovič, Uvodni govor [Introductory speech], 3–4.

27 The most influential among them, Zora Šoba, was the head of the factory's Department of Organization and Analysis, also elected to the republic assembly for economic affairs in 1963. Ela Vranjek, engineer of geodesy, appeared in the newspaper as an outstanding member of working brigades in 1953. She was employed in 1960 as an agronomist for cultivation of tobacco, was appointed to a leading position in worker's council, and was elected to a national assembly for economy in the late 1970s. Mira Jurečič, head of management board in 1959, was elected to the municipal assembly for economy in 1963, Metka Mesec finished her degree at the Faculty of Law in 1959 and was the main legal officer in the factory thereafter. Slava Avbelj was a member of the commission of the assembly of producers of the district people's committee Ljubljana-Vič in 1960. Malči Makarovič was awarded a special prize for contribution to the development of the local community in Vič in 1986.

28 SI ZAL, LJU 134/2, t. e. 1, a. e. 1–4, Various minutes of the ordinary sessions of the Management board.

29 SI ZAL, LJU 134/2, t. e. 1, a. e. 3, Minutes of the ordinary sessions of the Management board from 4. 11. 1961, 24. 11. 1961, and 8. 6. 1962.

The women's share in written submissions corresponds with the share of women in the factory, yet the pleas related to childcare were written exclusively by women. They confirm the words of Malči Makarovič quoted above regarding women and their "*exclusive*" involvement in "*domestic work*".

The beginning of the 1960s outlines the starting point of a new era for the tobacco workers in Ljubljana, bringing about substantial investment into the modernization of working processes, particularly the mechanization of production. Another aspect addresses the extended mobility of the workers. A noticeable influx of tobacco workers not only from more distant places of Slovenia, but also from other parts of Yugoslavia, namely from Croatia, Serbia and BiH, as is apparent from the workers' registers.[30] At the same time, Yugoslavia started to open up its international borders, thus enabling conditions for negotiations regarding bilateral working contracts with Austria (1966) and Germany (1969). These features bring about a number of new perspectives for the research of tobacco workers. Hence I decided to end the scope of this very paper in 1962, which besides tendencies towards more federalized political organization of the state (Repe, 1990) also predicts a new socio-economic development.

CONCLUSION

Observation of a fifty-year period of labor relations in the Tobacco factory Ljubljana brings us to the conclusion that many changes relevant for tobacco workers did not follow the shift in political regimes, but were more gradual and moderate. Also, altering social roles and norms as well as other intriguing elements at the intersection of mentality and everyday life were neither linear nor uniform, yet they demonstrated fairly different rhythms than developments in the field of political history, even though the latter – at least in fragments – left its imprints on social life. Stemming from the observed archival sources, the "*enduring force of mental structures*" (Vovelle, 2004, 19) in the fields of marital practices, educational standards, and division of labor among the workers took place along the gender line, despite the rhetoric of proclaiming gender equality.

Endurance relates to many factors and their complex and dynamic interrelations, where places of origin, familial foundations, life-time experiences, a sense of belonging to groups, generations, and other frameworks add up in a (always at least slightly unique) social and cultural horizon of a particular individual (Assmann, 2001, 34–45). As mental formation of an individual is a constant process conditioned by influencing collectives in touch (and at times also by desired collectives in absence), there is a sense of exploring workers in collective terms, naturally by anticipating not only the universal, but also the variety of individual standpoints.

When observing the organization of work in factories with hundreds of workers, it becomes clear that it must have generated intense interpersonal transactions, which according to Charles Tilly, "*compound into identities, create and transform social boundaries, and accumulate into durable ties*" (Tilly, 2005, 12). This does not only address strikes and

30 SI ZAL, LJU 134/1, t. e. 33, Worker's registers, books 66, 67, 68 (1959–1966).

protests for better work conditions or illegal activities for the good of the liberation movement during the war. The collective where women prevailed and even shared a common appellation – "cigararce" or "fabričanke" – and working processes where women worked next to one another and also associated in the spare time, doubtlessly also made space for debates over various issues such as life, death, marriage, work, and family. They must have also touched upon various taboos regarding pregnancy, motherhood, sexual matters, relations to men, etc., presenting a variety of contrasting opinions over various issues. If interpersonal contacts are one of the most effective channels influencing individual or collective disposition, the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana is indeed an interesting observation space for social changes formed from below.

One of the categories apparent in the available workers' registers was the category of marital status. The share of married women among workers was rather high throughout the observed period and did not change considerably, reaching around a half of all female workers. Many of once single workers remained in the factory after marriage. The factory held the traditional reputation of a "family factory" (Čepič, 1991, 11). In order to follow changes in mentality, I was also interested in observing the trends of marital divorce, which was – based on the prevalent Catholic principle of inseparability of sacramental marriage – for centuries considered unimaginable or almost unfeasible (Cvirn, 2005). The rate of divorce was growing from the 1920s onward, but it seems to have been largely triggered by the acute social crises following both world wars (Celello, 2009; Hvalec, 2015). Although the propaganda for building a secular society was strong, the number of divorced workers of both sexes was not exhibiting an increasing trend in the first post-war years.

However, there was an interesting development line in terms of education and division of labor, in particular among white-collar workers. Whereas women did not work in this sector before 1913 and were very modestly represented in the interwar time, the years after 1945 witnessed a considerable rise of women among white-collar workers. Their education level rose as well, also exhibiting several high-qualified workers with university diplomas by the beginning of the 1960s. Although blue-collar workers were still poorly educated at large, some of them managed to achieve the position of foreman at individual production units in the late 1950s. The management and control over production was still majorly led by a handful of men whose social reputation appears very high from the meeting minutes, but the trend set its course towards gender-equality.

The observation of tobacco workers mirrors aspects of the gradual emancipation of women in Slovene society, which was achieved *de iure*, while *de facto* it still contained many challenges for the future generations. This was clear even in 1980, when notable Slovene politician Vida Tomšič held a long speech in the factory on Women's Day on the 8th of March, which was adopted as a fully paid day-off by the factory's workers' council in 1965.[31] In the speech, she outlined the historical development of the worker's position, including its role in self-management, and all the advancements that could not be overseen. However, she also revealed the holiday's conservative content, which "*seeks*

31 SI ZAL, LJU/134, t. e. 12, a. e. 22, Worker's council minutes, 4. 3. 1965.

to preserve the old, subordinate role of women, the old division of roles between the sexes". She emphasized the socialist meaning of Women's Day, where the expression of gratitude to women and mothers was upgraded "*with the idea that workers, women workers and girls, together with exploited workers, demand their equality in work in an organized manner and fight for a socialist social organization in which work at home and in society belongs equally to men and women when they both decide on labor, social and family matters*." Her core finding of the current women-worker's position, was somewhat critical and bitterly displeased:

> *With all the possibilities in the political system of socialist self-government, we have not, in fact, made significant shifts in the position of women at work. Most women are still employed in less skilled jobs, perform strenuous, usually monotonous work at high intensity and are employed in the classic industrial so-called women's branches.* […] *In addition to the poorer qualification structure of employed women, the traditional burden of women outside the work environment remains a fundamental problem and an obstacle to the progress of women in society.*[32]

The fact that the emphasis of Vida Tomšič's message did not differ much from the words of Malči Makarovič, who had held a speech two decades before, demonstrates a languid transformation of women's social roles. Although her words could not be objected from the bird's-eye view and in general, the situation from below insinuates a more complex situation, especially if large qualitative differences regarding social standing of the workers, their household organization and relations between spouses are taken into account.

32 SI ZAL, LJU/134, t. e. 86, a. e. 1002, The speech of Vida Tomšič, 8. 3. 1980.

TOBAČNI DELAVCI V LJUBLJANI (1912–1962): NEKAJ VPOGLEDOV V DRUŽBENE PREOBRAZBE GLEDE NA SPOL

Urška STRLE
Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: strleu@ff.uni-lj.si

POVZETEK

Članek naslavlja družbene vidike tobačne zgodovine, katere empirični temelj so ob prevladujočem serialnem gradivu tudi drugi fragmentarni ostanki v arhivskem fondu Tobačne tovarne Ljubljana. Časovno članek pokriva poslednja leta Habsburške monarhije, dobo Kraljevine SHS (od 1929 znane kot Kraljevina Jugoslavija) in začetna leta Titove Jugoslavije, vključno s prelomi, ki sta jih zadali obe svetovni vojni. Takšen časovni okvir je bil izbran namerno, z namenom zaznati kontinuitete in prelome v družbenih transformacijah, ki so se dogodile v različnih političnih režimih, s poudarkom na tem, kako so se kazale v sferi dela ljubljanske tobačne industrije. Zaradi obvladljivega števila delavstva, ki se je v opazovanem času gibalo od 500 do 2500 ljudi in med katerimi so prevladovale ženske, uporabljeni viri omogočajo tudi detajlno analizo vidikov spola skozi perspektivo intersekcionalnosti. Zgodovina enega največjih industrijskih kompleksov v Ljubljani potrjuje močne socialne vplive tovarne na mesto s širšo okolico, obenem pa zrcali tudi strukturne spremembe, na katere so vplivali dinamičen ekonomski razvoj in korenite politične spremembe v regiji. Skozi vire se izrisuje tudi spremenljivost kulturne zaznamovanosti in družbene pogojenosti vrednotenja tobačnega delavstva. Prispevek očrta ne le spremenljive položaje delavstva v času, ampak tudi dinamiko znotraj posameznih političnih okvirov. V avstrijskem okviru je bilo doseženih precej delavskih pravic s področja socialnega varstva, ob tem da so tobačne tovarne v okviru dunajskega monopola imele neuraden status socialnih podjetij. Tobačna tovarna je na prehodu stoletja omogočala razmeroma stalno zaposlitev, varstvo za otroke, nadomestilo za bolovanje in z dopolnjenim 35 leti delovne dobe tudi polno pokojnino. Po vstopu v novo državo, ki so jo močno določale politične in socialne krize, usklajevanja pravnih predpisov in težavna gospodarska stabilizacija, ki se razvila v katastrofalno gospodarsko krizo, so bili sindikati po učinku manj uspešni, država pa je bila delavstvu manj naklonjena. Veliko je bilo stihijskega zaposlovanja, delež stalnih zaposlitev se je precej znižal, pokojnine so bile nizke, delovne inšpekcije pa so delovale predvsem na formalni ravni. Status delavstva se je precej izboljševal po drugi vojni, ko se je ob večanju socialne varnosti delavcem po letu 1950 omogočilo tudi sodelovanje pri upravljanju in delitvi dobička. Ob zelo raznovrstni poklicni sestavi zaposlenih v tovarni je glavna pozornost posvečena proizvodnemu delavstvu, kjer so vseskozi bile ženske v veliki večini. Za delavke je bilo v primerjavi z delavci značilno prejemanje nižjih dohodkov, pri čemer se zdi glavni razlog za razlike v plačah delitev dela po spolu, ki je za ženske

pomenila delo na slabše plačanih položajih. Razlika v plačah po spolu je sicer stalnica, značilna za vsa obdobja delovanja tovarne. Nizke plače pa so delavke spodbujale tudi k iskanju dodatnih virov zaslužka. Izrazite spremembe so se zgodile na ravni izobrazbene strukture zaposlenih, pri čemer je višja strokovna izobrazba načeloma pomenila možnost višjih dohodkov. Izobrazbena stopnja zaposlenih žensk se je zlagoma višala šele od druge polovice 20. stoletja dalje in v izjemnih primerih dosegla tudi univerzitetno stopnjo.

Ključne besede: tobačno delavstvo, družbeno-politične preobrazbe, spol, delovna razmerja, socialna zgodovina

SOURCES AND LITERATURE

Aleševec, J. (1876): Ljubljanske slike: podoba ljubljanskega sveta pod drobnogledom. Ljubljana, Jakob Aleševec.

Archer, R. & G. Music (2017): Approaching the socialist factory and its workforce: considerations from fieldwork in (former) Yugoslavia. Labor History, 58, 1, 44–66.

Assmann, A. (2001): Vier Formen von Gedächtnis Von individuellen zu kulturellen Konstruktionen der Vergangenheit. Wirtschaft & Wissenschaft, 9, 34–45.

Augeneder, S. (1987): Arbeiterinnen im Ersten Weltkrieg. Lebens- und Arbeitsbedingungen proletarischer Frauen in Österreich. Wien, Universitat Wien.

Berend, I. T. (2013): Gospodarska zgodovina Evrope v 20. stoletju: Ekonomski režimi od laissez-faire do globalizacije Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.

Bernik Burja, V. (2009): Vloga žensk v osvobodilnem gibanju na Slovenskem. Magistrsko delo, Ljubljana.

Bonfiglioli, C. (2019): Women and Industry in the Balkans: The Rise and Fall of the Yugoslav Textile Sector. Oxford, Bloomsbury Academic.

Brügel, L. (1919): Soziale Gesetzgebungen in Osterreich 1848–1918. Wien, Deuticke.

Brussatti, A. (1965): Östereichische Wirtschaftspolitik vom Josephinismus bis zum Standestaat. Wien, Jupiter Verlag.

Celello, K. (2009): Making Marriage Work: A History of Marriage and Divorce in the Twentieth-Century United States. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.

Cenzon, S. (2012): Il peso del fumo nel vento. Storia della manifattura tabacchi di Trieste. Trieste, Luglio.

Claessens, F. & L. Duin (2004): The European City: Architectural Interventions and Transformations. Delft, DUP Science.

Cvirn, J. (2005): Boj za sveti zakon. Prizadevanja za reformo poročnega prava od konca 18. stoletja do druge svetovne vojne. Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije.

Čepič, T. (1991): Opojnost tobaka, Razstava mestnega muzeja Ljubljana ob 120-letnici Tobačne Ljubljana. Ljubljana, Mestni muzej.

Čepič, Z. (2005): Delavsko samoupravljanje. In: Fischer, J. et al. (eds.): Slovenska novejša zgodovina 1848–1992. Od programa Zedinjena Slovenija do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije. Vol. II. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 961–963.

Deželak Barič, V. (2015): Participation, Role and Position of Slovenian Women in the World War II Resistance Movement. Qualestoria, 43, 2, 65–93.

Eckert, A. (ed.) (2016): Global Histories of Work. Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter.

Ferenc, T. (2005): Priprave na vojno v gospodarstvu. In: Fischer, J. et al. (eds.): Slovenska novejša zgodovina 1848–1992. Od programa Zedinjena Slovenija do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije. Vol. I. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 506–509.

Fischer, J. (1984): Delavke tobačne tovarne v Ljubljani v letih 1871–1914. Prispevki za zgodovino delavskega gibanja, 24, 1–2, 5–62.

Gerk, S. et al. (eds.) (1970): Slovenke v narodnoosvobodilnem boju: zbornik dokumentov, člankov in spominov. Ljubljana, Borec.

Harman, glasilo Tobačne Ljubljana. Ljubljana, 1959–2003.

Horvat, Š. (1960): Delovodje v tobačni tovarni Ljubljana. Ljubljana, Fakulteta za socialno delo.

Hvalec, H. (2015): Ločitve v medvojnem obdobju v Celju (1920–1938). Diplomsko delo, Ljubljana.

Jerina-Lah, P. et al. (eds.) (1996): Delo žensk na zdravstvenem in socialnem področju v NOB. Novo mesto, Tiskarna Novo mesto, Dolenjska založba.

Judt, T. (2005): Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945. London, Pimlico.

Krek, J. et al. (1912): Spominska knjižica Podpornega društva delavcev in delavk v ljubljanski tobačni tvornici. Ljubljana, Podporno društvo delavcev in delavk v ljubljanski tobačni tvornici.

Kremenšek, S. (1976): Izvir in okolje delavk ljubljanske tobačne tovarne do prve svetovne vojne. Slovenski etnograf, 29, 91–100.

Kresal, F. (1970): Začetki in razvoj delavskega zavarovanja v Sloveniji med obema vojnama. Zgodovinski časopis, 24, 3–4, 209–245.

Kresal, F. (1982): Nastanek in razvoj socialne politike na Slovenskem do 1941. Prispevki za zgodovino delavskega gibanja, 22, 1–2, 101–116.

Kresal, F. (1997): Sto let razvoja kolektivnih pogodb na Slovenskem. Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino, 37, 2, , 65–68.

Kresal, F. (1998): Zgodovina in razvoj socialne in gospodarske politike v Sloveniji. Ljubljana, Cankarjeva založba.

Kreuzer, A. (2009): St. Ruprecht – Stadt vor der Stadt, Klagenfurts XI. Bezirk. Klagenfurt, Kreuzer-Buch.

Lazarevič, Ž. (2001): Plasti prostora in časa. Iz gospodarske zgodovine Slovenije prve polovice 20. stoletja. Ljubljana, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino.

Lazarević, Ž. (2015): Gospodarska dejavnost žensk in gospodarsko zgodovinopisje. Oris razmer/ij in poudarkov. In: Šorn, M., Vodopivec, N. & Ž. Lazarevič (eds.): Žensko delo: delo žensk v zgodovinski perspektivi. Ljubljana, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 9–18.

Linden, M. van der (2003): Transnational Labour History. Explorations. Aldershot (UK), Ashgate.

Linden, M. van der (2008): Workers of the World. Essays toward a Global Labor History (Studies in global social history. Bd. 1). Leiden, Brill.

Linden, M. van der & E. Himmelstoss (eds.) (2010): Labour History Beyond Borders: Concepts and Explorations/ Grenzenüberschreitende Arbeitergeschichte: Konzepte und Erkundungen. Leipzig, Akademische Verlagsanstalt.

Ljudska pravica. Lendava, Ljubljana, 1934–1959.

Lucassen, J. (ed.) (2006): Global Labour History: A State of the Art. New York, Peter Lang.

Lucassen, J. (2013): Outlines of a History of Labour. IISH-Research Paper, 51. Https://iisg.amsterdam/files/2018-01/outlines-of-a-history-of-labour_respap51.pdf (last access: 20.09.2020).

Marizza, S. (1997): L'importanza economica del tabacco. Un esempio istriano: La fabbrica tabacchi di Rovigno. Trieste, Universitá Popolare.

Marsetič, R. (2016): La Regia Manifattura Tabacchi a Pola. Quaderni, 27, 81–139.

Naprej. Ljubljana, 1917–1928.

Nikolić Đerić, T. (2015): Tobacco Industry Changing Lives: Women Workers at the Turn of the 20st Century. Narodna umjetnost, 52, 1, 173–188.

Popisi prebivalstva – www.sistory.si (last access: 09.10.2020).

Prinčič, J. (2005): Sovjetizacija slovenske industrije v letih 1945–1950. Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino, 45, 2, 121–130.

Ratej, M. (2014): »S svojo žrtvijo sva vključena v nekaj orjaškega«: Edvard Kardelj – človek, aktivist, oblastnik. Zgodovina za vse, 21, 1, 68–78.

Repe, B. (1990): Utrinki iz bližnjega leta 1962. Teorija in praksa 27, 1–2, 224–231.

Rusinow, D. (1977): The Yugoslav Experiment 1948–1974. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Samary, C. (2017): Komunizem v gibanju: zgodovinski pomen jugoslovanskega samoupravljanja. Ljubljana, Založba *cf.

SI ZAL, LJU 134/3 – Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana (SI ZAL), Tobačna tovarna Ljubljana (LJU/134).

Simic, I. (2018): Soviet influences on Postwar Yugoslav Gender Politics. New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

Slovenec. Ljubljana, 1873–1945.

Strle, U. (2015): K razumevanju ženskega dela v veliki vojni. Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino, 55, 2, 103–125.

Studen, A. (ed.) (2016): Od prvih oglasov do interneta: k zgodovini oglaševanja na Slovenskem. Ljubljana, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino.

Tilly, C. (2005): Identities, Boundaries, and Social Ties. London, Paradigm.

TM – Tolminski muzej.

Tomažič, T. (1972–73): Gostilne v Šiški: od okrog 1900 do začetka druge vojske. Slovenski etnograf, 25–26, 67–88.

UL – Uradni list. Https://www.sistory.si/cdn/publikacije/1-1000/245/Sluzbeni_list_1943.pdf (last access: 22.11.2020).

Verginella, M. (2006): Ženska obrobja. Vpis žensk v zgodovino Slovencev. Ljubljana, Delta.

Vodušek Starič, J. (1983): Začetki samoupravljanja v Sloveniji: 1949–1953. Maribor, Obzorja.

Vovelle, M. (2004): Ideologije in mentalitete. Ljubljana, Studia Humanitatis.

Received: 2021-11-15 DOI 10.19233/AH.2021.39

KOROŠKA DEŽELNA VLADA IN KOROŠKE POLITIČNE STRANKE – POSKUS DOPRINOSA K RAZUMEVANJU RAZMER NA KOROŠKEM PRED PLEBISCITOM

Tamara GRIESSER-PEČAR
Študijski center za narodno spravo, Tivolska 42, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: tamara.griesser@gmx.at

IZVLEČEK

Razmere na Koroškem po prevratu so bile zelo napete. Koroški Nemci so živeli v strahu pred zasedbo jugoslovanskih in italijanskih enot. Oblasti v Ljubljani so pričakovale, da bo mirovna konferenca izpolnila njihove želje glede meje z Nemško Avstrijo. 26. oktobra 1918 je bil v celovški deželni hiši skupni posvet predstavnikov nemško-avstrijskih koroških strank, na katerega predstavniki Slovencev niso bili vabljeni. Ustanovili so začasni deželni zbor po ključu izida zadnjih državnozborskih volitev leta 1911, določili sedemčlanski izvršni odbor, ki naj bi opravil vse potrebno za konstituiranje začasnega deželnega zbora. Ta bi do imenovanja novega koroškega deželnega odbora provizorično vodil deželo. Leta 1918 in na začetku naslednjega leta je bil mogoč dogovor med Narodno vlado za Slovenijo in koroško deželno vlado o priključitvi koroškega območja južno od Drave h Kraljevini SHS, vendar je slovenska vlada to odločno zavrnila. Končno je demarkacijska črta, ki jo je predlagala Milesova misija, mejo določila na Karavankah. Wilson se je zavzemal za plebiscit, to je podpirala avstrijska stran in taka je bila odločitev na mirovni konferenci v Parizu.

Ključne besede: Republika nemška Avstrija, Koroški deželni odbor, Arthur Lemisch, pogajanja v Gradcu, misija Miles, Lambert Ehrlich, propaganda, plebiscit

IL GOVERNO REGIONALE CARINZIANO E I PARTITI POLITICI DELLA CARINZIA – UN TENTATIVO DI CONTRIBUIRE A COMPRENDERE LA SITUAZIONE IN CARINZIA PRIMA DEL PLEBISCITO

SINTESI

La situazione in Carinzia alla fine della Prima guerra mondiale era molto tesa. I tedeschi della Carinzia avevano paura dell'occupazione da parte delle truppe jugoslave e italiane. Le autorità a Lubiana si aspettavano che la Conferenza di pace avrebbe soddisfatto le loro aspirazioni riguardo al confine con l'Austria tedesca. Il 26 ottobre 1918 si tenne nella casa regionale di Klagenfurt una conferenza congiunta dei rappresentanti

dei partiti della Carinzia austro-tedesca, alla quale non furono invitati i rappresentanti degli sloveni. L'Assemblea provinciale provvisoria fu istituita in base ai risultati delle ultime elezioni pere l'Assemblea nazionale nel 1911 e fu nominato un comitato esecutivo di sette membri per intraprendere tutto il necessario per costituire l'Assemblea regionale provvisoria. Fino alla nomina di un nuovo comitato regionale carinziano avrebbe guidato provvisoriamente il Paese. Nel 1918 e agli inizi dell'anno successivo era possibile tra il governo nazionale per la Slovenia e il governo regionale della Carinzia un accordo intorno alla cessione al Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni dell'area carinziana a sud della Drava, ma il governo sloveno rifiutò categoricamente. Infine, la linea di demarcazione proposta dalla missione Miles aveva fissato il confine sulle Caravanche. Wilson era infine favorevole a un plebiscito; aveva il sostegno dalla parte austriaca e tale fu la decisione alla Conferenza di pace a Parigi.

Parole chiave: Repubblica dell'Austria tedesca, Comitato regionale della Carinzia, Arthur Lemisch, negoziati a Graz, missione Miles, Lambert Ehrlich, propaganda, plebiscito

UVOD[1]

Minilo je sto let, odkar je 10. oktobra 1920 v coni A na Koroškem potekal plebiscit, na katerem se je večina odločila za pripadnost novonastali Republiki Avstriji. Od 37.304 glasov, pri volilni udeležbi 95,79 %, je bilo 22.025 glasov oddanih za Republiko Avstrijo, to je 59,04 %, za Kraljevino Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev (SHS) pa 15.279 %, kar je 40,96 %. 2003 glasovi so bili neveljavni. Območje južno od Drave je s tesno večino 50,8 % glasovalo za Kraljevino SHS (Wutte, 1943, 399), in to kljub temu da je raziskava po občevalnem jeziku leta 1910 na področju cone A ugotovila veliko slovensko večino.[2] Narodnost očitno ni bila odločilna za večino volivcev. Kraljevini SHS je tako ostalo veliko manj, kot je bila Nemška Avstrija pripravljena odstopiti leta 1918 – in tudi še leta 1919. Takoj po koncu vojne bi bilo torej mogoče doseči dogovor s koroško deželno vlado o priključitvi koroškega območja južno od Drave k novi jugoslovanski državni tvorbi, slovenska vlada je bila tista, ki je odločno zavrnila demarkacijsko črto oz. mejo na Dravi, ker ji je to bilo premalo. Meja na Dravi je propadla zaradi nerealnih ocen stanja in posledičnih pretiranih zahtev.[3]

KOROŠKA KOT DEL NEMŠKE AVSTRIJE

Čeprav je cesar Karl še z oktobrskim manifestom 16. oktobra 1918 skušal rešiti habsburško monarhijo, razpada ni mogel preprečiti. S premirjem 3. novembra 1918 se je za Avstro-Ogrsko končala prva svetovna vojna, hkrati pa je to pomenilo tudi dokončen razpad monarhije. Nastale so nacionalne države, med njimi tudi Nemška Avstrija in Država SHS.

Na Dunaju si je že 21. oktobra 1918 Narodna skupščina zadala ime „nemško-avstrijska“, Republiko Nemško Avstrijo pa je razglasila 12. novembra. S tem so dokumentirali voljo, da se združijo z Nemčijo. Pridevek „nemška“ je mirovna konferenca leta 1919 prepovedala, Republiko Avstrijo pa je priznala 29. maja 1919. Del te nove republike je s tem postala tudi prejšnja kronovina Koroška.

Razmere na Koroškem po prevratu so bile zelo napete. Značilna sta bila dva trenutka: razpad starega reda in grožnja z jugoslovanske in italijanske strani (Bajc & Osojnik, 2019). Slovenci v Ljubljani so se počutili varne in so pričakovali, da bo mirovna konferenca izpolnila vse njihove želje, predvsem tudi kar zadeva meje z Nemško Avstrijo. Koroški deželni odbor (*Kärntner Landesausschuss*)

1 Prispevek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa *Zgodovinsko-pravni vidiki kršitev človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin na slovenskem ozemlju v 20. stoletju* (ARRS, P6-0380), ki ga sofinancira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARRS) iz državnega proračuna.

2 Po Janku Pleterskem 69,18 % (Pleterski, 1980, 80), po Claudiji Kromer celo 79 % (Kromer, 1970, 222).

3 Predmet plebiscita ni bila Ziljska dolina, kjer so v južnem delu živeli Slovenci, in tudi ne Kanalska dolina, ki je bila priključena Italiji. Prav tako v glasovanje ni bila vključena Mežiška dolina in občina Jezersko. Ti področji sta bili direktno priključeni Kraljevini SHS. Strokovnjak za mednarodno pravo Theodor Veiter je zapisal, da bi izid za Kraljevino SHS po vsej verjetnosti uspel, če bi v cono A bili vključeni tudi ti področji (Veiter, 1981, 350–351).

je v svoji predzadnji seji 25. oktobra 1918 zavrnil cesarjev oktobrski manifest, se zavzel za ustanovitev svobodne in neodvisne avstrijske države in sklenil, da odstavi deželnega predsednika. Upravo dežele naj bi prevzel nov deželni odbor, v katerem bi bile zastopane vse stranke. Hkrati je razglasil Koroško za nedeljivo, „*ker Slovenci na Koroškem, z izjemo Jezerskega, ne živijo v strnjenih naseljih, dežela pa najde na jugu zaradi gorskih grebenov svojo naravno mejo*“ (Wutte, 1943, 63). Že naslednji dan, 26. oktobra 1918, je bil v celovški deželni hiši (*Landhaus Klagenfurt*) skupni posvet predstavnikov nemško-avstrijskih koroških strank, ki mu je predsedoval predsednik nemškega ljudskega sveta in predsednik gospodarske zbornice Max Ritter von Burger. Čeprav je bila predvidena vključitev „vseh koroških strank“, Slovencev, ki jih je zastopal Narodni svet Slovencev na Koroškem, ki je bil ustanovljen 19. septembra 1918, niso povabili. Vabljene pa so bile vse nemško-koroške stranke: nemški svobodomisleci, nemški krščanski socialci in socialdemokrati ter Kmečka zveza (*Bauernbund*). Sklenili so ustanovitev začasnega deželnega zbora (*provisorische Landesversammlung*) po ključu izida zadnjih državnozborskih volitev leta 1911. Iz svoje sredine so določili sedemčlanski izvršni odbor (*Vollzugsausschuss*), ki naj bi opravil vse potrebno za konstituiranje začasnega deželnega zbora, ki bi do imenovanja novega koroškega deželnega odbora provizorično vodil deželo (Griesser-Pečar, 2010, 117). *Slovenec* je poročal, da nemški Korošci želijo svet postaviti pred *fait accompli,* torej da prevzamejo celotno Koroško brez vsakega obzira na Slovence.[4]

Za razumevanje situacije si je potrebno predočiti, da Slovenci pred razpadom habsburške monarhije niso živeli v eni sami upravni enoti, temveč v več kronovinah, in sicer pretežno v avstrijskem delu dualne monarhije, torej tudi v vojvodini Koroški, ki je po zadnjem uradnem štetju, ki je bilo leta 1910, imela 381.000 prebivalcev, od teh naj bi bilo 80.000 s slovenskim občevalnim jezikom (Pleterski, 1970a, 67). Glede na način štetja in vprašanja po občevalnem jeziku je številka po vsej verjetnosti prenizka. Meje med narodnostmi so bile seveda tekoče.

Tudi južni Slovani habsburške monarhije so 29. oktobra 1918 proglasili svojo samostojnost in ustanovili Narodno veće Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov.[5] Njegov predsednik je postal Slovenec dr. Anton Korošec, tisti, ki je v dunajskem deželnem zboru 30. maja 1917 prebral znamenito Majniško deklaracijo, za katero je bilo na Koroškem zbranih kar 19.000 podpisov (Ehrlich, 1919, 17; Ude, 1970, 197). 31. oktobra je bila imenovana Narodna vlada za Slovenijo, ki jo je Narodno veće še isti večer potrdil.[6] Na pobudo poverjenika za notranje zadeve dr. Janka Brejca je Narodna vlada že 1. novembra 1918 v Celovcu ustanovila slovenski (jugoslovanski) komisariat in za vladnega komisarja za Koroško imenovala stolnega

4 Slovenec, 1. 11. 1918: Koroški Nemci se hočejo polastiti cele Koroške, 2.

5 Več o tem glej: Perovšek, 2019b.

6 Podrobneje o tem: Perovšek, 2019a, 358; Griesser-Pečar, 2010, 90–98.

vikarja Frana Smodeja, predsednika Narodnega sveta za Koroško.[7] Smodej je v oglasu objavil, da nemškega deželnega odbora, ki ni bil sestavljen v sporazumu z Narodnim svetom, Slovenci ne priznavajo.[8]

Cilj slovenske vlade je bila združitev vseh Slovencev, ki so živeli pretežno v avstrijskem, delno pa tudi v ogrskem delu monarhije. Samo deželna vlada vojvodine Kranjske je imela svoj sedež na strnjenem slovenskem ozemlju. Slovenska vlada je na svoji prvi seji 1. novembra sicer zapisala, da bo slovensko Koroško zasedla čimprej, konkretnih načrtov za vključitev koroških Slovencev v novo ustanovljeno jugoslovansko državo pa še ni imela. T. i. provizorična ustava z dne 14. novembra 1918 državnih mej ni še jasno opredelila, vsebovala pa je zahtevo do delov Koroške (Griesser-Pečar, 2010, 84–86).

Po ustanovitvi Narodnega veća, predvsem pa po imenovanju Narodne vlade v Ljubljani in ko se predstavniki Slovencev 26. novembra niso udeležili deželnega zborovanja, na katerem so soglasno nastopili predstavniki vseh političnih smeri, je nemško vodstvo začelo spreminjati taktiko in skušalo vključiti tudi Slovence. *Mir* je 1. novembra 1918 napisal, da se je državni odbor, ki je prej zavračal Slovence, nenadoma vžgal zanje in jih skušal zatreti z objemom. „*Koroških Nemcev svetovna vojska in zadnji svetovni dogodki še niso zbrihtali. Ne morejo se vživeti v to, da bo kmalu njihovega nasilstva konec in konec za vedno.*“[9] Nemci so spremenili taktiko, ne pa tudi cilja.[10]

Začasni deželni zbor, ki je bil sestavljen na podlagi rezultatov zadnjih volitev v Državni zbor (*Reichsrat*) leta 1911, se je prvič sestal 11. novembra 1918. Zadnja seja je bila 2. junija 1921, volitve pa 19. junija 1921. Začasni zbor je imel skupno 92 sej, ni pa zasedal samo v Celovcu, temveč ko so jugoslovanske čete zasedale Koroško od junija 1919 v Beljaku, Špitalu ob Dravi/Spittal an der Drau in Šentvidu/St. Veit. V Celovec se je vrnil šele pozno jeseni leta 1920 (Wadl, 2002, 81). Sestavljalo ga je 58 poslancev. Najmočnejša stranka so bili z osemnajstimi poslanci socialni demokrati, sledili so z enajstimi poslanci nemški krščanski socialci (*Christlichsoziale*), nato Kmečka zveza (*Bauernbund*) s štirinajstimi poslanci, Nemška ljudska zveza (*Deutscher Volksverein*) s šestimi poslanci, Vsenemška stranka (*Alldeutsche Partei*) s petimi ter regionalna stranka iz Beljaka Ljudsko-socialna zveza „Nemška edinost“ (*Völkisch-sozialen Verband* „*Deutsche Einheit*“) z dvema. Eno poslansko mesto je pripadlo oficirjem in eno moštvu koroških enot. Nekaj dni po prvi seji začasnega deželnega zbora, 19. novembra, pa so se združili *Bauernbund* in tri nemškonacionalne stranke (*Deutscher Volksverein, Alldeutsche Partei, Völkisch-sozialer Verband* „*Deutsche Einheit*“) v Nemško-demokratsko stranko (*Deutschdemokratische Partei, DDP*). S tem so nemški narodnjaki prevladovali deželni

7 ARS, AS 60, Narodna vlada za Slovenijo (1918–1919), 1. seja, 1. 11. 1918.

8 Mir, 1. 11. 1918: Oglas Narodnega sveta Slovencev na Koroškem, 227.

9 Mir, 1. 11. 1918: Dnevne vesti. Koroški deželni odbor in Slovenci, 229.

10 Mir, 9. 11. 1918: Doma in na tujem, 236–237.

zbor. Seveda so tudi socialdemokrati nastopali kot nemška stranka.[11] Na vrhu tega začasnega deželnega zbora je bil dr. Richard Strobl, ki je bil pred tem župan mesta Beljak, izhajal pa je iz stranke *Völkisch-sozialen Verband* „*Deutsche Einheit*". Bil je velik nacionalsocialist.[12] Iz svojih vrst je začasni deželni zbor izvolil desetčlanski deželni odbor (*Landesausschuss*, pozneje *Landesrat*)[13] in na predlog tega še provizorično deželno vlado. Tej je predsedoval predstavnik nemškonacionale stranke, državni upravitelj (*Landesverweser*, predsednik) dr. Arthur Lemisch. Vlada je imela še dva namestnika, socialdemokrata Avgusta Neutzlerja in krščanskega socialca dr. Gustava Franka.

Karakteristični za začasni deželni zbor so bili časovno omejeni odbori, tako narodnopolitični odbor kot tudi obrambni odbor (*Wehrausschuß*), ki je bil pristojen za notranjo varnost, demobilizacijo, preprečevanje plenjenj, reševanje, ustanovitev tako imenovane *Volkswehr* (ljudska obrambna enota). Kot navaja direktor Koroškega deželnega arhiva Wilhelm Wadl, je bil znak, da so bili časi nenavadni in da je začasni deželni zbor nastopal do neke mere kot suveren, je, da je imenoval vrhovnega poveljnika. To je bil Ludwig Hülgerth. Pod njegovo komando so bile prostovoljne enote (*Heimwehren*) in že omenjena ljudska obrambna enota (*Volkswehr*) (Wadl, 2002, 81–82).

Začasni deželni zbor je že prvi dan sprejel tudi začasno ustavo, ki je med drugim predvidevala samoodločbo narodov, kar je veljalo tudi za Slovence, ki naj bi o svoji pripadnosti odločali na plebiscitu. O tem, kako naj bi ta potekal, bi naj odločala mirovna konferenca. Izdali so izjavo, iz katere sledi, „*da je dežela Koroška posebna, enakopravna provinca države Nemške Avstrije*". Narodnostno mešano ozemlje, ki se ni odločilo za priključitev na Nemško Avstrijo, naj bi do dokončne odločitve o meji ostalo pod upravo dežele Koroške.[14]

Tudi koroški socialni demokrati so bili povsem nemško-nacionalno usmerjeni. Dan pred konstituiranjem deželnega zbora so imeli izredno deželno konferenco, na kateri so se tudi zavzemali za pripadnost k Nemški Avstriji in za njeno priključitev Nemčiji. Florian Gröger je v imenu socialdemokratskih deželnih poslancev prebral izjavo, v kateri so zahtevali samoodločbo za nemški narod. Sicer so isto pravico priznavali tudi drugim narodom, „tudi slovanskim in romanskim tovarišem", vendar je iz besedila jasno razvidno, da jim je šlo predvsem za priključitev k Nemčiji in za samoodločbo nemškega naroda (Pleterski, 1970b, 123).

Koroški Slovenci so prepoznali potrebo po vzdrževanju stikov z nemškimi oblastmi. 4. novembra so v Narodnem svetu za Koroško obravnavali vprašanje,

11 Vsekakor so se nemški socialni demokrati, kot vse druge nemške stranke, zavzemali za nedeljeno deželo Koroško in pripadnost Nemški Avstriji. Slovenski socialni demokrati so bili do konca leta 1918 včlanjeni izključno v nemško socialno demokracijo, potem je JSDS konec septembra 1918 ustanovila lastno stranko, ki pa je ostala zelo šibka.

12 *Freie Stimmen*, 20. 11. 1918: *Tagesneuigkeiten – Deutscher Zusammenschluss, 2; Burz, 1998, 58–59.*

13 Predstavniki so bili poslanci Angerer, Gröger, Hönlinger, Schumy, Schatzmayr, Neutzler, Leer, Frank, Lemisch und Kirschner.

14 Kärntner Tagblatt, 13. 11. 1918, 1; Fräss-Ehrfeld, 2019, 92; Wutte, 1943, 65.

na koga naj se obrnejo. Imeli so izbiro med deželnim odborom, ki je svoje delo 26. oktobra zaključil in deželnim predsednikom Karlom grofom Lodron-Laterno, ki je 11. novembra odstopil.[15] Začasni koroški izvršni odbor (*Vollzugsausschuss*) se je potem trudil, da bi se dobro razumel z novim slovenskim vodstvom. V njenem imenu je dr. Jakob v. Reinlein nekajkrat obiskal komisariat. K sodelovanju pri oblikovanju začasnega državnega zbora je povabil je Smodeja, posredovala sta socialna demokrata Florian Gröger in Julius Lukas. Slovenski komisar za Koroško je bil do nemških poskusov približevanja izredno nezaupljiv. Menil je, da bi Slovenci bili morda zadovoljni, če bi bile izpolnjene dane obljube, a upanja, da se bo to zgodilo, ni bilo veliko. O tem nezaupanju je večkrat pisal slovensko-koroški časopis *Mir*: „*Koroški Nemci se tudi po tej svetovni vojni niso prav nič spremenili. Še vedno se jim zdi, da imajo vso tisto oblast in tisti vpliv, katerega so imeli pred vojno, ko jih je varovala cela avstrijska vlada.*“[16]

Novembra 1918 je bila Koroška še vedno vojaško šibka. Dr. Hans Angerer, poslanec začasnega deželnega zbora (*Alldeutsche Partei*) in obrambni pooblaščenec, je zastopal stališče, da nova nemško-avstrijska država ni vodila vojne in da naj zato ne ukrepa obrambno v primeru jugoslovanskega vojaškega napredovanja na koroških tleh, naj samo ostro protestira. Pravično rešitev pričakuje od mirovne konference: „*Zelo majhna organizirana vojaška sila je dovolj, da se neorganizirano prebivalstvo kontrolira*“, je rekel Angerer.[17] To je pred tem dokazal Fran Malgaj v primeru Mežiške doline. 7. novembra se je s svojo enoto odpravil v Prevalje, zasegel celotno dolino in vzpostavil mir.

Da bi najprej naredili red v sami deželi, so se morali nemško-avstrijski Korošci najprej izogniti oboroženemu spopadu tako z enotami nastajajoče jugoslovanske države kot tudi z Italijo. Zato so hoteli izkoristiti možnost, da sklenejo nek medvladni sporazum z Narodno vlado v Ljubljani. Obrnili so se nanjo in jo s tem praktično tudi priznali. 2. novembra je preko Jesenic v Ljubljano prišla koroška delegacija s predlogom, da se med obema državama določi nevtralna cona, ki naj bi jo upravljala mešana komisija do trenutka, ko bi mirovna konferenca prišla do dokončne rešitve. Vendar se slovenska vlada, še posebej dr. Brejc, ni hotela pogajati, ker se je bala prejudicev. Omejila se je zgolj na poslušanje predlogov.[18]

Situacija je bila zapletena, čez deželo so se valile množice ljudi, vojakov, ki so imeli eno samo željo, namreč priti čimprej domov, vojaki iz ruskega ujetništva so prinašali boljševiške ideje, poleg tega pa so bili posamezni deli monarhije med seboj gospodarsko tako povezani, da je bilo nujno potrebno rešiti gospodarska in prometna vprašanja. Predvsem razmere na Štajerskem in Koroškem so bile težavne. 7. novembra je bil med Narodno vlado, Narodnim svetom in predstavniki nemško-avstrijske vlade dosežen dogovor, ki naj bil veljal do 15. decembra. Do takrat naj bi

15 ARS, AS 58, 1917–1919, fasc. 3, Narodni svet za Koroško, 4. seja, 4. 11. 1918.

16 Mir, 26. 11. 1918, 237.

17 Freie Stimmen, 19. 11. 1918: Eine jugoslawische Besetzung von Klagenfurt, 2.

18 Več o političnih razmerah na Slovenskem prim. Perovšek, 2020.

se organizirala pogajanja v Ljubljani, ki bi reševala tudi koroška vprašanja. Narodna vlada je sporazum ratificirala z dodatkom, namenjenim reševanju nujnih gospodarskih in prometnih zadev, ne pa tudi političnih, da bi lahko na kakršenkoli način lahko prejudicirala določitev glede ozemlja, ki naj bi pripadalo državi SHS.[19]

V Ljubljano je 5. novembra 1918 prišla delegacija Koroških Slovencev z dr. Pirnatom na čelu, ki je zahtevala priključitev slovenskega dela Koroške z mestom Celovec k novi jugoslovanski državni tvorbi (Andrejka, 1928, 278). Poverjenik za notranje zadeve (in potem predsednik Deželne vlade) dr. Janko Brejc je v *Slovenci v desetletju 1918–1928* napisal, da v vladi ni bilo enotnega mnenja glede oborožene akcije na Koroškem. Prevladovalo je tudi mnenje, da bodo Slovenci na mirovni konferenci glede Koroške dobili, kar bodo zahtevali. „*Tako se je narodna vlada v glavnem zadovoljila s papirnatimi protesti pri dunajski državni in celovški vladi in je svoje teritorialne pretenzije podprla samo z okupacijo nekaterih važnejših točk ...*“ (Brejc, 1928, 171).

Že naslednji dan, 6. novembra, je nemški izvrševalni odbor (*Vollzugsausschuss*) na Koroškem odredil sledeče: „*Vsi državni in občinski uradi v jezikovno mešanih okrajih so obveščeni, da v slučaju, če pride jugoslovanska komisija, ki hoče prevzeti občinsko upravo, izjavijo – da se umaknejo le sili.*“[20]

Pod pritiskom slovensko-koroške delegacije je Narodna vlada 8. novembra imenovala generalštabnega stotnika Alfreda Lavriča za vojaškega pooblaščenca za Koroško z nalogo, da organizira Koroško južno od Drave, izvzemši okraj Pliberk (Tablja/Pontafel do Brezje/Pirk) in jo vključi v jugoslovansko državo ter zagotovi tam red in mir. Kljub pomanjkanju moštva je organiziral 70 km dolgo obrambno črto od Podkloštra preko Borovelj do Galicije. Ljubelj je prestopil med 18. in 19. novembrom in zgodaj zjutraj zasedel Borovlje. Sledila so pogajanja med Lavričem in delegatoma koroškega izvršnega odbora, koroškim poveljnikom, podpolkovnikom Ludwigom Hülgerthom in dr. Josefom Pflanzlom, ki so 23. novembra določili začasno demarkacijsko črto na Dravi – izliv Ziljice/Gailitz v Ziljo/Gail, do izliva Zilje v Dravo/Drau in po Dravi do Breze/Pirk. Obe strani sicer z dogovorom nista bili zadovoljni, je pa to črto potrdil začasni Koroški deželni odbor *(Landesausschuss)*, in sicer s pridržkom, da bo dokončno zadeva odločena na mirovni konferenci. Medtem ko je bila pogodba 26.novembra objavljena v nemškem časopisju, je slovenski časopis *Mir* 28. novembra zanikal, da bi do nje sploh prišlo (Lavrič, 1923, 63; Griesser-Pečar, 2010, 152–165).

V Gradcu se je general Rudolf Maister pogajal z generalštabnim oficirjem polkovnikom Rudolfom Passyjem kot zastopnikom graškega nemško-avstrijskega poveljstva in z njim 27. novembra 1918 sklenil začasno pogodbo glede štajerske in koroške meje, ki naj bi začela veljati 30. novembra. Demarkacijska črta naj bi zajemala kraje Št.Pavel/St. Paul, Grebinj/Giffen, Važenberk/Waisenberg, Slovenji Šmihel/Windisch-St. Michael, Krnski grad/Karnburg, Trg/Feldkirchen, Beljak/

19 ÖStA, HHStA, NPA, a. š. 799, št. 1265.

20 Mir, 15. 11. 1918: Nemški ‚Vollzugsausschus‘ in samoodločba, 240; Wutte, 1943, 95–96.

Villach in Šmohor/Hermagor in bi potekala od tam naravnost proti jugu do koroške meje. Ker pa Passy ni imel pooblastila s strani Koroške, te pogodbe avstrijske oblasti niso priznale, zato je bila razveljavljena. Med Maistrom ter predstavniki štajerske in koroške deželne vlade so se pogajanja nadaljevala v Mariboru 29. in 30. novembra. Maister je naenkrat, poleg že dogovorjene demarkacijske črte na Dravi, zahteval tudi politični okraj Velikovec in trdil, da je dobil tako navodilo iz Ljubljane, kar pa ni držalo. Državni urad za zunanje zadeve na Dunaju je zaradi tega interveniral pri Narodni vladi in se pritožil čez Maistra, češ da ne upošteva demarkacijske čete, o kateri je soodločal. Maister je dejansko mejo prekoračil pri Strassu. Hkrati je dunajski državni urad signaliziral svojo pripravljenost za pogajanja, ki naj bi se vršila v najkrajšem času. Narodna vlada se je strinjala, je pa naročila poverjeniku za narodno obrambo dr. Lovru Pogačniku, naj energično zapove Maistru, da ne sme ukrepati na svojo lastno pest in da mora izvrševati izključno vojaška povelja iz Ljubljane, predvsem pa tudi, naj ne zasede Beljaka in Celovca, ker ni dovolj živil, „*da bi prehranili ljudstvo vsaj v toliki meri kot prejšnja vlada, in ker bi to ne šlo brez krvoprelitja*“.[21] Dejansko pa sta prav to zasedbo načrtovala Maister in Lavrič. Vlada je še trdila, da se Nemci utrjujejo na vzhodnem bregu Krke in da so v zvezi z Italijani, vendar takrat nemška Koroška še ni imela organiziranih čet. Maister je nato prekinil pogajanja v Mariboru in to brez da bi o tem obvestil Lavriča.

Pogajanja med Narodno vlado, štajersko in koroško deželno vlado ter dunajsko centralno vlado so se potem nadaljevala v Ljubljani, ampak šele 9. decembra – in to čeprav je Lavrič predlagal 28. november in Državni urad za zunanje zadeve na Dunaju 2. december. Vzrok je bil ustanovitev Kraljevine SHS 1. decembra 1918 v Beogradu, katerega se je udeležila tudi delegacija Narodne vlade. Pogajanja so bila neuspešna. Nemško-avstrijska stran je ponujala sodne okraje Pliberk, Dobrla vas, Železna Kapla in Borovlje, Narodna vlada pa je zahtevala veliko več, predvsem tudi zato, ker sta Anton Korošec in Gregor Žerjav iz Pariza poročala, da bodo vse slovenske aspiracije glede severne meje izpolnjene (Brejc, 1928, 171). Slovenska stran je predlagala mejo Šmohor/Hermagor, Dobrač/Dobratsch, Gummern, Osojsko jezero/Ossiacher Osojske Ture/Tauern, Možberk/Moosburg, Gospa Sveta/Maria Saal, Krištofova Gora/Christofberg, Mostič/St. Johann am Brückl, Št.Urh/St. Ulrich, Djekše/Diex, Greutschach/Krčanje, Granitztal, Labot/Lavamünd, Sveti Duh na Štajerskem/Heiligengeist. Mesto Celovec in Beljak naj bi bila *conditio sine qua non*. S tem bi zajeli ne samo Slovence, ki so se tako opredelili, temveč tudi tiste, ki so imeli slovenske prednike. Koroška stran je predlagala demarkacijsko črto Drava −Freibach s sodnimi okraji Pliberk/Bleiburg, Dobrla vas/Eberndorf in Železna kaplja/Eisenkappel. Brejc je pozneje napisal, da bi takrat „*vsi od kraja kleli Narodno vlado in jo kamenjali kot izdajalko narodnih interesov, če bi bila prepustila samo neznaten kos slovenske zemlje na Koroškem Nemcem*“ (Brejc, 1928, 171; Pleterski, 1970c, 224).

21 Sejni zapisniki/1. del, 156, dok. 27: Zapisnik 27. seje Narodne vlade SHS v Ljubljani, 2. 12. 1918.

Predstavniki dunajske vlade so skušali pogajanja spraviti iz slepe ulice, vendar so bila stališča preveč narazen. Slovenci niso hoteli skleniti nobenih kompromisov, tudi niso imeli posluha za to, kar so takrat Korošci še bili pripravljeni odstopiti. Tukaj je potrebno omeniti npr. „Memorandum o možnosti delitve Koroške“ z dne 15. decembra, v katerem je državni upravitelj Lemisch navedel, kje so bili pripravljeni deliti in kje ne. Odločilni bi morali biti štirje vidiki: meja naj bi temeljila na naravnih osnovah, biti bi morala čim bolj enostavna, prilagojena prometu in geografskim razmeram, upoštevala pa naj bi tudi nacionalne zahteve. Pri tem pa zadnje ni bilo v ospredju. Poudarjeno je tudi bilo, da se slovenski in nemški Korošci prvi vrsti čutijo kot Korošci. Dežela tvori geografsko, gospodarsko in kulturno enoto, kar je raslo skozi stoletja. Delitev države je v vsakem primeru nenaravna.[22]

Vsekakor je vlada takrat zamudila ugoden trenutek, ker je takrat še obstajala možnost, da pridobi velik del Koroške. Tudi če medvladni sporazum ne bi prejudiciral dokončne odločitve v Parizu, bi prav gotovo ugodno vplival na odločitev sil antante. Medtem so se razmere začele spreminjati. 29. novembra se je v Celovcu sestal novi Deželni vojaški svet (*Landessoldatenrat*), morala vojakov se je izboljšala in provizorični Deželni zbor (*Landesversammlung*) je 5. decembra sprejel sklep, da se zaradi kršitev pravice do samoodločbe brani proti vdoru jugoslovanskih čet. Za to so glasovali tudi socialdemokratski predstavniki. Vojaška komanda je dobila ustrezna pooblastila, bilo ji je pa zapovedano, da se ne sme zoperstaviti antantnim enotam. Razlikovali so med slovenskimi in srbskimi vojaki, srbski so bili namreč del antante.[23] 15. decembra so se začeli napadi na jugoslovanske enote in do 8. januarja so Korošci zasedli polovico tistega koroškega ozemlja, ki so ga prej zasedle jugoslovanske enote. Samo Podjuna/Jauntal in Velikovec/Völkermarkt sta ostala v jugoslovanskih rokah.

MISIJA MILES

Pogajanja v Gradcu so se nadaljevala 17. in 18. januarja 1919. V nemško-avstrijski delegaciji so bili deželni komisar dr. Wilhelm von Kaan, Jakob baron Reinlein, kapetan fregate Albert Peter-Pirkham, konzul Max Ritter von Hoffinger in dva Korošca, namreč Vincenc Schumy in August Neutzler, ki je zastopal koroško deželno vlado. V slovenski delegaciji so bili komisar Fran Smodej, podpredsednik slovenske Narodne vlade dr. Gregor Žerjav, major pl. Andrejka in Franc Grafenauer. Govorili so med drugim o tem, da bodo enote antante zasedle sodno okrožje Velikovec, pa tudi celotno območje med Dravo in štajersko mejo ter linijo Wolfsberg-St. Veit/Št. Vid. Dogovor je bil dosežen glede ohranjanja jugoslovanskih položajev na severnem izhodu iz predora Karavank in Ljubelja, ne pa tudi glede mesta in sodnega okrožja Velikovec in Spodnjega Dravograda.

22 ÖStA, HHStA, NPA, a. š. 800, 141–166.
23 ÖStA, HHStA, NPA, a. š. 801, št. 2259/1.

Dobesedno v zadnjem trenutku sta posredovala dva ameriška častnika, Sherman Miles in Leroy King. Obstajala je namreč nevarnost, da se v naslednjih 24. urah ponovno začnejo spopadi. 22. januarja 1919 je bil podpisan graško-ljubljanski protokol, ki je določil, da se bo za demarkacijsko črto (mejo) med Kraljevino SHS in Republiko Avstrijo upoštevala linija, ki jo bo predlagala ameriška komisija (Griesser-Pečar, 2010, 255–261).

Miles in King sta bila člana študijske komisije, ki jo je ameriška vlada novembra 1918 poslala na Dunaj. Vodil jo je od januarja do maja 1919 profesor na Harvardu in direktor tamkajšnje knjižnice Archibald Cary Coolidge, ki je bil kot posebni asistent Sekretariata za zunanje zadeve dodeljen ameriški delegaciji na mirovni konferenci, ampak brez diplomatskega statusa. Ta komisija je imela pododseke v Pragi, Budimpešti in Zagrebu. V Zagrebu je bil šef misije generalštabni podpolkovnik Sherman Miles, ki je že januarja 1919 veljal za enega najbolj izkušenih *intelligence officers* v ameriški vojski (Beer, 2002, 310), njegov pomočnik je bil poročnik LeRoy King. Coolidge je Milesa in Kinga 7. januarja poslal v Ljubljano, da preuči situacijo na nemškoavstrijsko-slovenski meji. Iz Ljubljane je odšel v Gradec, kjer so se 17. januarja začela pogajanja. Predlog Milesa, tako imenovani graški protokol, sta obe strani podpisali, vendar slovenska vlada temu ni bila naklonjena. Poslala je Smodeja na Dunaj, da sooči Coolidga s pomisleki, vendar je Coolidge vztrajal in slovenska vlada je popustila, ko je bilo dogovorjeno, da vsaka stran v misijo imenuje svojega zastopnika. 22. januarja sta Miles in King dobila Coolidgevo pooblastilo za to misijo, priključil jima je še Lawrenca Martina, ki je bil izvedenec v ameriškem generalštabu in profesor na univerzi v Madisonu v deželi Wisconsin ter Roberta J. Kernerja, univerzitetnega profesorja fizikalne geografije in slavistike na Univerzi Misuri, član pododseka Coolidgeve misije v Pragi, ki je bil češkega pokolenja. Obe strani sta Milesovi misiji predali zemljevide in drugo gradivo. Avstrijsko vlado je v misiji zastopal Albert Peter-Pirkham, slovenska vlada pa je po dolgih debatah določila Lamberta Ehrlicha.[24]

Milesova misija je potovala po Koroški deset dni, v nekaterih krajih je bila celo dvakrat. Ocenjevala je geografske in gospodarske aspekte področja. Prišla je do zaključka, da se Celovške kotline naj ne deli, ker bi to škodovalo njenemu razvoju. Meja naj bi potekala na Karavankah, vendar člani misije niso bili enotni. Medtem ko so se Miles, King in Martin zavzemali za mejo na Karavankah (Kuhar, 1956, 52–65; Geiger, 2001, 68–88; Burz, 2002, 134–149), je profesor Robert Kerner predlagal mejo na Dravi (Kuhar, 1956, 65–71; Kromer, 1970, 229–240; Geiger, 2001, 88–101). Coolidge je z nekaj pridržki sprejel mnenje večine članov misije, ki je predlagala mejo na Karavankah, ker je bilo sporno ozemlje zemljepisna in gospodarska enota. V pismu, ki ga je poslal na mirovno konferenco s

24 Sejni zapisniki/1, 282, dok. 49: Zapisnik 49. seje Narodne vlade SHS v Ljubljani, 20. 1. 1919; Sejni zapisniki/1, 387, dok. 64: Zapisnik 64. seje Narodne vlade SHS v Ljubljani, 21. 2. 1919. Prim. Wutte, 1943, 149–153; Kuhar, 1956, 47–48; Kromer, 1970, 50–54; Vrečar, 2002, 20–23; Rahten, 2019, 784.

celotno dokumentacijo, je izrazil mnenje, „*da je obstoj pro-avstrijskega razpoloženja velikega dela in morda celo večine koroških Slovencev dokazan. V njihovem primeru se zahteve načela o samoodločbi ne ujemajo z onimi o jezikovni skupnosti, in po mojem mnenju naj se ohrani načelo o samoodločbi.*“ Kernerjevo poročilo Coolidga ni prepričalo. Zavzemal se je za Wilsonovo doktrino o samoodločbi, dokončno mejo naj torej odloči plebiscit. Imel je pridržke zaradi primernosti, ne zaradi pravičnosti. Tukaj je šlo predvsem za Podjunsko dolino. Ni bil prepričan, da bi umik jugoslovanske vojske tam prispevalo k pomiritvi. Poleg tega pa je napisal, „*da se je nemogoče izogniti dejstvu, da namreč priznava Avstrijcem vse kar zahtevajo, in morda celo več, kot je večina med njimi sploh pričakovala, a da na drugi strani daje prav najhujšim predslutnjam Jugoslovanov.*“ Seveda pa je šlo, piše naprej, samo za demarkacijsko črto (Kuhar, 1956, 72).

Sicer poročilo Milesove misije ni bilo objavljeno in naj ne bi direktno vplivalo na mirovno konferenco, je pa seveda vplivalo na ameriško mirovno delegacijo, ki je svoje stališče spremenila. Na mirovno konferenco je prišla z zamislijo, da se meja na Koroški potegne po črti reke Drave, po poročilu Milesove misije pa se je zavzemala za mejo na Karavankah, kar je pomenilo, da je razen Mežiške doline Koroška pripadla Avstriji. Sicer so bili znotraj ameriške delegacije tudi zadržki zaradi Milesove misije, vendar je prevladalo Wilsonovo mnenje. Pri obravnavi koroškega vprašanja se je nenehno skliceval na to misijo (prim. Rahten, 2020a, 224–232). Avstrijski kancler Karl Renner se je po plebiscitu zahvalil pri Coolidgu za nepristranskost, širokogrudnost in modrim nasvetom, „*da je na Koroškem zmagalo načelo, ki naj bi po namenih Združenih držav služilo kot merilo za obnovo vseh avstrijskih meja*“ (Coolidge & Lord, 1932, 215, 222, citirano po Kuhar, 1956, 79; Kromer, 1970, 57–58).

Po mnenju jugoslovanskega zastopnika dr. Lamberta Ehrlicha je bilo delovanje Milesove misije problematično, kot je napisal v poročilu za slovenskega delegata na mirovni konferenci Ivana Žolgerja.[25] O tem je tudi obširno poročal na seji Narodne vlade 7. februarja. Prepričan je bil, da je misija prišla na Koroško z že izdelanim načrtom za demarkacijsko mejo. Kritiziral je, da niso obiskali Ziljske doline, kjer so prav tako živeli Slovenci. V Gradcu so se sicer dogovorili, da bodo upoštevali kraje do od Italijanov zasedene črte, vendar bi lahko prišli do demarkacijske črte tudi v Ziljski dolini. Ehrlich je protestiral, a ni uspel. Zanj je bilo „*očividno, da je komisija štela Slovence severno od Drave samo kot nekako kompenzacijo za Nemce južno od Drave.*“[26] Ehrlich je bil prepričan, da ljudje niso dobili priložnost svobodno izraziti svoje volje. Spraševali so jih, ali hočejo pripadati k Nemški Avstriji ali h Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, niso pa jih spraševali o narodnosti. Za Nemce je bil položaj lažji. Ne samo, da je komisija večino časa preživela v nemško-avstrijskem delu Koroške, kjer so Nemci nadzirali celotni

25 Več o tem prim. Rahten, 2018, 510–521.

26 ARS, AS 60, Narodna vlada za Slovenijo (1918–1919), 1. seja, 7. 2. 1919; Sejni zapisniki/1, 343, dok. 58: Zapisnik 58. seje Narodne vlade SHS v Ljubljani, 7. 2. 1919.

gospodarski, vojaški in pravni aparat, ampak je imela celo svoj sedež v Celovcu. Veliko lažje je torej nemško-koroška stran z njo komunicirala, razvijala pa je tudi lahko svojo izredno učinkovito propagando. Tako so bile pripravljene demonstracije za Nemško Avstrijo. Koroška oblast je preprečila tudi vrnitev beguncev. Šlo je za vplivne ljudi − za duhovnike, učitelje, župane, za inteligenco nasploh. Ehrlich je navedel še druge posege oz. prekoračitve pooblastil s strani koroških oblasti. Slovensko prebivalstvo je ostalo brez vodstva in je bilo izpostavljeno močni nemški agitaciji. Zelo razširjen je bil slogan: „Samostojna Republika Koroška po vzorcu Švice“. Zaradi trditve, da se bodo Slovenci, če bi se odločili za jugoslovansko državo, ločili od gospodarskih središč Beljak in Celovec, so se mnogi Slovenci odločili za nedeljeno Koroško. Iz vsega tega sledi, tako je zapisal Ehrlich, da Američanom ni uspelo ugotoviti prave želje koroških Slovencev.[27]

Konzul Maximilian Hoffinger je poročal iz Celovca na Dunaj, da profesor Kerner, ki slovenščino s češkim naglasom dobro obvlada, deluje načrtno slavofilno, ampak da ni podcenjevati gradiva, ki ga zbira, predvsem zaradi šolanja manjšine. Zato je predlagal državnemu uradu, da se Coolidgu predloži elaborat o avstrijskem šolskem sistemu in poudari, da se vsaka občina avtonomno odloči glede učnega jezika. Kot poudarja zgodovinar Arnold Suppan, je Hoffinger deloval tako, kot da ne bi še slišal za utrakvistične šole (Suppan, 2002, 102–103). Namen teh je bilo seveda ponemčevanje (prim. Griesser-Pečar, 2009). Po oceni Claudie Kromer oz. Claudie Fräss-Ehrfeld, ki je največ publicirala o Milesovi misiji, je ta napravila zelo odgovorno delo. Kernerjevo poročilo naj bi po njej dal vtis propagandnega spisa. Vendar tudi sama citira zelo sporen Milesov stavek: „*Vrhu tega smo dobili tudi vtis, da pripadajo pro-avstrijski Slovenci boljši plasti kakor pa pro-jugoslovanski Slovenci. Pod oznako ‚boljše plasti‘ seveda ne razumemo onih, ki so bogatejši, ampak samo one, ki so se nam zdeli na splošno boljši kot ljudje.*“[28] Izpostavlja tudi vlogo avstrijskega predstavnika Alberta Petra-Pirkhama, ki ga je Thomas M. Barker imenoval za rešilca Koroške (Barker, 1960, 164). Njegova strategija je bila pridobiti Združene države Amerike in Italijo za avstrijsko stran. Znal je, v nasprotju z Ehrlichom, vzpostaviti osebne stike s člani ameriške misije. Kot je sam zapisal, je vedno znova poskušal vzpostaviti popolno podrejenost Wilsonovim načelom. Povezal se je tudi s Coolidgem na Dunaju in uspelo mu je ga pridobiti na svojo stran. Pridobil je tudi njegove simpatije in se z njim pogosto srečaval na privatnih razgovorih. Tudi s člani Milesove misije se je dobro razumel, Martin ga je celo označil za svojega prijatelja (Peter-Pirkham, 1960; Kromer, 1970, 98–99; Griesser-Pečar, 2010, 267–268).

Slovenski predstavnik Ehrlich takih možnosti ni imel. Kot je napisal Prepeluh, je podpredsednik vlade Gregor Žerjav predlagal za slovenskega člana misije Iva-

27 ARS, AS 1164, a. š. 113, Poročilo dr. Lamberta Ehrlicha; Ehrlich, 1921, 356–364.

28 Kromer, 1970, 64–65; Kuhar, 1956, 64. Prim. tudi: Fräss-Ehrfeld, 1975; Fräss-Ehrfeld, 1986.

na Švegla, ki bi z Američani po vsej verjetnosti lahko drugače komuniciral, ker je bil dolgoletni avstro-ogrski konzul v ZDA, vendar s svojim predlogom ni uspel, ker je predsednik Janko Brejc temu nasprotoval (Prepeluh, 1938, 52).

Na avstrijski strani je prevladovalo mnenje, da je Milesova misija delovala korektno in da je bilo Kernerjevo poročilo enostransko (Wutte, 1943, 153–159). Nasploh je bila iz avstrijske perspektive Milesova misija odločilna za končno določitev meje na Koroškem, čeprav ZDA mirovne pogodbe ni ratificirala in ni imela člana v plebiscitni komisiji leta 1920.

MIROVNA KONFERENCA IN PLEBISCIT

Medtem ko je avstrijsko-koroška stran zagovarjala plebiscit, je slovenska stran skušala plebiscit preprečiti. Mirovna konferenca je začela s svojim delom 18. januarja 1919. Jugoslovanska delegacija je predložila svoje zahteve po celotnem slovenskem delu Koroške in se sklicevala tudi na proces germanizacije vse od leta 1850 naprej. Visoki svet je začel debatirati o mejah Avstrije 9. maja in kmalu je tudi predsednik Wilson tematiziral koroško vprašanje in se pri tem opiral na informacije, ki jih je dobil od Milesa, ki je poročal tudi v Parizu, pa seveda tudi od Coolidga. Zavzemal se je za plebiscit v delu celovške kotline in poudarjal gospodarsko enotnost celovške kotline.[29]

Slovenska deželna vlada je nasprotovala plebiscitu in ga je hotela preprečiti. Zato je šla v Pariz deputacija Deželne vlade s predsednikom Jankom Brejcem na čelu, v njej je bil tudi škof Anton Bonaventura Jeglič, in predstavniki vseh v vladi zastopanih strank. Predložili so kompromisni predlog: tisto področje, ki je kasneje oblikovalo plebiscitno cono A, bi naj brez plebiscita bilo neposredno priključeno Kraljevini SHS. To stališče je podprl dr. Anton Korošec, minister beograjske vlade, nekdanji predsednik Jugoslovanskega kluba v dunajskem deželnem zboru ter podpredsednik slovenske deželne vlade dr. Gregor Žerjav, ki sta bila oba v Parizu. Korošec je poročal, da se je slovenska Narodna vlada povsod srečavala z veliko razumevanja, zlasti med Francozi, in da bodo nacionalne zahteve gotovo izpolnjene. Vendar plebiscita niso uspeli preprečiti.

Ko so Avstrijci v Parizu 2. junija 1919 prejeli osnutek mirovne pogodbe,[30] je manjkal del o koroškem plebiscitu, ker je odločitev v Visokem svetu padla šele dva dneva pozneje. Visoki svet je najprej predvideval plebiscit za celotno celovško kotlino kot enoto, vendar so Slovenci uspeli v toliko, da je bil sprejet kompromis, da so plebiscitno področje razdelili na cono A in cono B in določili, da če se večina v coni A odloči za Kraljevino SHS, potem bi naj bil plebiscit bil tudi v coni B. Zaradi tega je bila nemško koroška politika pesimistična, tudi ker je bil Celovec 6. junija 1919 (do 31. julija) zaseden. Še pred odločitvijo o glasovanju so namreč jugoslovanske čete 29. aprila 1919

29 Več o tem prim. Osojnik, Bajc & Matjašič Friš, 2020, 535–537.
30 Polno besedilo je avstrijska delegacija potem dobila 20. julija 1919.

zjutraj na celotni poti od Labota/Lavamünda do Podrožce/Rosenbacha napadle nemško-avstrijske položaje. Cilj napada: zavzeti Celovec, po možnosti tudi Beljak. Jugoslovanska stran je hotela ustvariti *fait a complit*. Protinapad je sledil v začetku maja, nato pa druga jugoslovanska ofenziva (od 28. maja–6. junija 1919). Vsekakor je bil Celovec zaseden 6. junija, a nato na zahtevo zavezniškega Vrhovnega sveta v Parizu spet izpraznjen. Od takrat ni bilo nadaljnjih spopadov.

Slovenci so imeli v coni A večino, namreč skoraj 70 %, zato so pričakovali, da bo odločitev na plebiscitu za Kraljevino SHS. Koroški izvršni odbor je 21. julija 1919 na predlog predstavnika Koroške v avstrijski mirovni delegaciji v St. Germainu ing. Vincenca Schumyja sklenila, da se predlaga consko štetje rezultatov glasovanja. Iz cone A bi naredili tri cone. Temu je nasprotovala jugoslovanska stran, mirovna konferenca pa je predlog zavrnila. Če bi se ta takrat upoštevala, bi seveda Avstrija na plebiscitu izgubila območje južno od Drave. Pozneje, julija 1920, je beograjska vlada dunajski vladi posredovala podoben predlog. Državni kancler Karl Renner, ki je bil od junija naprej tudi zunanji minister (*Staatssekretär*), se je zaradi tega peljal v Št. Vid na Glini/St. Veit a.d. Glan na posvet s predstavniki Koroške. Šlo je za delitev po vzorcu, ki je bil predviden za Teschen, kjer je šlo za delitev področja med Poljsko in Čehoslovaško. Renner je 6. avgusta poročal na seji kabineta, da so si koroški predstavniki edini v pričakovanju, da jim bo uspelo pridobiti celotno cono A. Odločno so nasprotovali delitvi. Pri poskusnih volitvah naj bi 60 % votiralo za Avstrijo in samo 40 % za Kraljevino SHS, in to kljub temu da je na zadnjih volitvah v državni zbor – volilno pravico so imeli vsi moški nad 24 let – zmagala Vseslovenska ljudska stranka s 44 %, antiklerikalna Nemško-svobodnjaška stranka (*Deutsch-Freiheitlichen*) je prejela 39 %, socialni demokrati pa 17 %. Prav ti pa so igrali očitno ključno vlogo, kar so pokazali rezultati v industrijskih krajih Borovlje, Podljubelj Bistrica v Rožu, Sinča vas. V kabinetu je bila precejšnja debata o tem, nekateri so se tudi nagibali k delitvi, vendar je prevladovalo mnenje, da če so koroški predstavniki enotno proti delitvi, potem je zelo težko predlagati kakšno drugo rešitev. Zato je kancler Renner pobudo odklonil (Griesser-Pečar, 2010, 384, 416; Fräss-Ehrfeld, 1981, 165–166; Suppan, 1981, 207–210; Suppan, 2002, 107).

Prva jugoslovanska ofenziva se je končala s pogajanji o premirju v Celovcu (10. maja 1919), druga s pogajanji v Kranju (5. junija 1919). Toda pogoji so se spremenili. Medtem ko so Jugoslovani prišli v Celovec kot poraženci, so v Kranju lahko narekovali pogoje, avstrijska delegacija je morala v Kranju čakati kar dva dneva, preden so se jim pridružili slovenski pogajalci. Določili so demarkacijsko črto in sovražnosti so se ustavile. Pravzaprav sta 6. junija v Ljubljani obe strani podpisali osnutek pogodbe, ki so ga predstavili Slovenci. Avstrijska stran pogodbe ni hotela podpisati (konzul Hoffinger). Na to je vplivala odločitev antante. Dejansko je Svet štirih 30. maja 1919 sklenil nevtralizirati Celovško kotlino (npr. Griesser-Pečar, 2010, 284–292; 309–323).

Tako na nemškoavstrijski kot tudi na jugoslovanski strani je oblast zapirala in internirala nasprotnike (prim. Griesser-Pečar, 2010, 324–356). Obe strani sta z internacijami začeli istočasno konec aprila – ni ena stran reagirala na ukrepe druge. Največ internacij je bilo maja in junija, posamezni primeri pa so znani celo iz meseca avgusta.[31] Številke, ki se navajajo za internacije, ki jih je povzročila avstrijsko-koroška stran, so med 200 in 300. Koroška deželna vlada je navedla, da je bilo junija brez kompenzacije zaprtih 300 Slovencev, trije pa še julija. Sekretariat za zunanje zadeve pa je v odgovoru jugoslovanskemu poslaniku na Dunaju Josipu vitezu Pogačniku navedel številko 207. Koroška deželna vlada je tako utemeljevala ta ukrep: „*V zvezi z boji na fronti je bilo treba veliko število Jugoslovanov internirati ali omejiti. Ta ukrep je bil sprejet po eni strani zaradi intenzivnega agitiranja številnih Jugoslovanov (med drugim so bili Nemci razoroženi), po drugi strani pa za zaščito zadevnih ljudi, proti katerim je bila usmerjena bridkost nemškega prebivalstva.*“[32] Številke na slovenski strani so še bolj nenatančne. Ko je ministrstvo za notranje zadeve centralne vlade v Beogradu vprašalo v Ljubljano, koliko je bilo aretiranih, je bilo iz Ljubljane sporočeno, da jih je bilo 292, od teh je bilo 260 pristojnih v coni A, 32 pa naj bi bilo avstrijskih državljanov.[33]

Plebiscitni čas

Plebiscitna cona A je bila pod slovensko upravo, cona B pa se je opirala na že obstoječo koroško upravo. 16. julija 1920 je začela veljati senžermenska pogodba in 21. julija je svoje delo začela Mednarodna plebiscitna komisija: predsednik Anglež Capel Peck, Francoz grof Charles de Chambrun in Italijan princ Livio Borghese. Brez pravice do glasovanja pa sta bila člana še dr. Jovan Cvijić, ki ga je pozneje zamenjal Jovan Jovanović, in Avstrijec Peter-Pirkham.

Demarkacijska črta

Ena najbolj kontroverznih odločitev jugoslovanske uprave v volilnem območju A je bila skoraj hermetična zapora cone A, ki je izredno negativno vplivala na vzdušje na Koroškem. Mednarodna plebiscitna komisija, ki je bila ustanovljena marca 1920 in je na Koroško prispela konec julija, je odprtje prisililA, ker je 8. junija veleposlaniška konferenca v Parizu odločila, da je 1. avgusta potrebno odpreti razmejitveno črto in omogočiti prosto trgovino ter prevoz hrane in drugih izdelkov. Medtem ko je avstrijska vlada to takoj upoštevala in je ukrep jugoslovanske vlade uporabila v propagandne namene, je jugoslovanska stran temu nasprotovala. Po prihodu članov medzavezniške volilne komisije na Koroško so – predvsem Angleži – nenehno pritiskali na jugoslovanske delegate; Jovan Cvijić, predstavnik Kralje-

31 ÖStA, HHStA, NPA, a. š. 805, št. 6109.
32 ÖStA, HHStA, NPA, a. š. 805, št. 3536.
33 ARS, AS 61, Poverjeništvo za notranje zadeve, fascikel 34, št. 1864.

vine SHS v volilni komisiji, se je na sestanku v Beogradu z Brejcem dogovoril, da razmejitvene črte v nobenem primeru ne bi smeli odpirati.

Odprtje razmejitvene črte s strani Medzavezniške volilne komisije 6. avgusta 1920 je bil najhujši poraz jugoslovanske strani pred glasovanjem. Vrhovna oblast nad volilnim območjem je bila odvzeta slovenski deželni vladi, ko je začela delovati volilna komisija. Na zahtevo veleposlaniške konferenc je moral jugoslovanski delegat, tako kot avstrijski delegat v coni B, dobiti vsa pooblastila, potrebna za izdajo ukazov lokalnih civilnih in vojaških oblasti.

Zapora demarkacijske črte je imela resne posledice za prebivalce cone A. Prekinjene so bile prometne povezave – zlasti s Celovcem, ki je bil prometno križišče celotnega koroškega območja. Težave so bile s prodajo kmetijskih proizvodov, na drugi strani pa je bilo pomanjkanje industrijskih izdelkov. Gospodarske razmere kmetov so se vedno slabšale. Cona A je bila namreč v glavnem kmetijsko usmerjena. Pot do njihovega naravnega trga Celovec je bila zaprta. V nasprotju z Avstrijo je bila jugoslovanska država slabo industrializirana. Predvsem je bilo očitno pomanjkanje tekstilnih in usnjenih izdelkov, keramike in posode ter zdravil. V preteklosti so kmetje prodajali poljske izdelke v Celovcu in tam kupovali potrebne industrijske izdelke (Suppan, 2002, 106–107).

Razpoloženje med prebivalstvom volilne cone A se je konec leta 1919 za Kraljevino SHS vidno poslabšalo, in sicer iz naslednjih razlogov: uspešne nemške agitacije, predsodkov do Srbov, neredne oskrbe prebivalstva, prekinjene povezave s Celovcem, naraščajočih cen, pomanjkanja prometnih povezav, težav s prodajo kmetijskih izdelkov, pomanjkanja industrijskih izdelkov, neizpolnjenih obljube glede odškodnine in preveč prizanesljivega pristopa do nacionalnega nasprotnika.

S pomočjo dunajske vlade je koroška deželna vlada organizirala socialno podporo za ljudi v stiski, seveda najprej v coni B. Oskrbovali so prebivalstvo s sladkorjem, z moko, mlekom (kondenziranim), mastjo, s svečami, petrolejem in z drugimi potrebščinami. Še slabša je bila situacija v coni A, ker so bili kmetje odrezani od svojih trgov v Celovcu in Beljaku. Primanjkovalo je kmetijskih strojev, orodja, tekstilnih in usnjenih izdelkov, posode, vžigalic, pa tudi sladkorja, soli, zdravil, semen, petroleja in drugega. Zato se je deželni finančni direktorat odločil, da se vse potrebno nabavi in shrani v skladišča, da je na razpolago, ko se demarkacijska meja odpre „*izključno z namenom, da se vpliva na glasovanje v prid avstrijski republiki na tem področju*“. Dejansko je bilo tako, da ko se je demarkacijska meja avgusta 1920 odprla, je prebivalstvo cone A navalilo na trgovine, predvsem v Celovcu (Suppan, 1981, 204–207).

Propaganda

Koroška deželna vlada in izvršni deželni odbor (*Landesausschuss*) ter provizorični deželni zbor so vse slabosti slovenske uprave zelo spretno propagandistično izkoristili, v slovenskem in nemškem jeziku. Avgusta 1919 je propagando prevzel deželni organ, t. i. „*Landes-Agitationsleitung*“, ki je deloval precej

tajno, saj ni nikoli javno nastopil, ker so najprej iskali možnost, kako se pride preko meje v cono A pod jugoslovansko upravo. Zato so nemški Korošci cono A razdelili v več predelov in vsak je dobil svojega agitatorja. Po preoblikovanju propagandne krovne organizacije marca 1920, ustanovljen je bil *Heimatdienst*, je propaganda postala vse močnejša. Poleg propagandnih zloženk „Kärntner Landsmannschaft" in „Koroško Korošcem" je bilo na nemško koroški strani pripravljenih 22 brošur in 150 zloženk, 50 letakov (lepljivih) in 13 reklamnih plakatov; naklade so bile izredno visoke, pri letakih celo do 250.000 (Wutte, 1943, 355).

Čeprav obstaja veliko literature o vojaških spopadih pa tudi o propagandi obeh strani, manjka, kot je izpostavil zgodovinar Ulfried Burz v svoji monografiji *Nationalsozialistische Bewegung in Kärnten*, še raziskava tega, kako in kdo vse je financiral nemško-avstrijsko propagando v plebiscitnem času. Kljub pomanjkanju virov pa so, tako piše Burz, nekateri aspekti financiranja razvidni. Že Martin Wutte je v svojem delu *Kärntens Freiheitskampf* opozoril na finančno podporo iz Nemčije, vendar podrobnosti ni navedel. Seveda pa so v plebiscitnem času tudi prikrivali dotoke denarja iz Nemčije, ker je bilo vprašanje na referendumu, ali hočejo ljudje pripadati Republiki Avstriji ali Kraljevini SHS. Dejansko je nemška vlada imela sklad „Nemška mejna donacija" („Deutsche Grenzspende"), ki je prispevala 500.000 mark, „Deutscher Schutzbund" pa 250.000 (okoli 1,3 milijonov kron). Vsa nemška društva skupaj, tudi društvo „Südmark", so prispevala okoli 4,5 milijonov kron (Burz, 1998, 30–38; Wutte, 1943, 382–383).

Nemško koroška stran se je v svoji propagandi osredotočila na gospodarski položaj kmetov. Predvsem cona A je bila preplavljena s propagandnim gradivom, z letaki, s pamfleti in predstavniki prostovoljnih enot – „Heimwehra" – so prihajali v cono A kljub zaprti demarkacijski črti. To niti ni bilo tako težavno, ker je na jugoslovanski strani primanjkovalo orožnikov, pa tudi koordinacija med različnimi službami ni bila optimalna. Velikokrat so na istem mestu stale patrulje orožnikov, finančne uprave in vojske, drugod pa ni bilo nikogar. Celo v delu, ki je bil priključen Kraljevini SHS brez referenduma, je bila povečana nemška propaganda.[34]

Zanimivo je, da je avstrijsko-nemška propaganda takrat priznavala oba jezika in domovinsko pravico Slovencev. Avstrija je Slovencem na Koroškem obljubljala narodne pravice in manjšinsko zaščito. Tako je letak „*Koroški Slovenci – Kärntner Slowenen*!" obljubljal: „Na Koroškem boste lahko kakor do sedaj v miru živeli svoj jezik in šolo obdržali." Drug primer je letak „*Slovenci smo*!", ki je zavračal trditev slovenske strani, da bodo Slovenci izgubili jezik, vero, šolo, slovenske duhovnike in uradnike, če se bodo odločili za Avstrijo, ker določbe mirovne konference vse to garantirajo.[35]

34 ARS, AS 60, Predsedništvo deželne vlade, št. 13887; Griesser-Pečar, 2010, 403.

35 Pleterski, 1970c, 236. Prim. Rahten, 2020b.

Nemško-avstrijska propaganda je uporabljala še vrsto drugih gesel. Strašila je pred davki in uničenjem premoženja, pred srbskim jezikom, ki da bo prevladoval, pred vojsko, pred vojaško obveznostjo in služenjem vojaškega roka v Makedoniji, pred pravoslavno cerkvijo itd. Poudarjala je tudi razne negativne dogodke v Jugoslaviji, npr. žrtve na Zaloški cesti v Ljubljani. Poudarjala je tudi, kako je plebiscitna komisija ovrgla vrsto jugoslovanskih ukrepov, v prvi vrsti zaprtje demarkacijske meje, umik jugoslovanske vojske npr. iz Celovca, odpravo sekvestra itd.

Volilna pravica

V skladu s točko 50 mirovne pogodbe je imel volilno pravico vsak, ki je bil 1. januarja 1919 star dvajset let in je bil rojen v plebiscitni coni ali pa je imel 1. januarja 1912 tam stalno prebivališče. Kot kraj prebivališča pa se je štel tisti kraj, na katerem je volivec živel šest mesecev brez prekinitve. To pa seveda ni veljalo, če je nekdo domači kraj moral zapustiti, npr. zaradi vojne ali zaradi služenja vojaškega roka (Almond & Lutz, 1935, 50). Volilno pravico pa so imeli tudi tisti, ki so zapustili območje po 1. januarju 1919 in od takrat naprej živeli v drugih krajih Nemške Avstrije ali so se celo preselili v tujino. Ugotovitev stalnega prebivališča je bila pogosto zelo otežkočena (Tomšič, 1935, 401–402; Grafenauer, Ude & Veselko, 1946, 455–456). Vsekakor je bilo opazno, da je nemško-koroška stran skrbela za to, da je veliko tistih, ki so po 1. januarju 1919 cono A zapustili, prišli nazaj na glasovanje. Tudi to bi moralo biti predmet temeljite neodvisne raziskave, ki bi sicer morala imeti dostop do vseh dokumentov tudi v celovškem pokrajinskem arhivu.

SKLEP

Na plebiscitu 10. oktobra 1920 Slovenci na Koroškem niso dobili pričakovane večine za priključitev ozemlja k Kraljevini SHS. Vzrok za to je potrebno iskati tudi na slovenski strani, ker so bile zahteve slovenske Narodne vlade povsem nerealistične. Razmere na Koroškem so bile po razpadu habsburške monarhije zelo napete. Koroški deželni odbor je na predzadnji seji razglasil Koroško za nedeljivo, na Dunaju je bila 12. novembra razglašena Republika Nemška Avstrija in začasni deželni zbor je sprejel sklep, da je Koroška enakopravna provinca te države. Vojaško pa je bila po razpadu monarhije dežela še zelo šibka. Po preobratu so se tako v Ljubljani kot v Celovcu razprave osredotočale na vprašanje južnoslovanske zasedbe Koroške, zlasti mesta Celovec. Medtem ko so bili Slovenci in Nemci na Koroškem prepričani, da bodo južnoslovanske čete zasedle področje že v nekaj dneh, so slovenski politiki v Ljubljani imeli številne pomisleke. Oklevali so toliko časa, dokler se na Koroškem razmere niso spremenile in so nemški Korošci prišli do prepričanja, da Slovenci nimajo zadostne podpore pri Srbih in pri drugih silah antante.

Takoj po koncu vojne, ko se je Koroška čutila ogrožena od italijanske in jugoslovanske strani, bi bilo torej mogoče doseči dogovor s koroško deželno vlado o priključitvi koroškega območja južno od Drave k novi južnoslovanski državni tvorbi, slovenska vlada je bila tista, ki je odločno zavrnila demarkacijsko črto oz. mejo na Dravi. To bi bil tudi neke vrste precedens na mirovni konferenci. Po razpadu habsburške monarhije se Narodna vlada ni potrudila, da bi prišlo do dogovora o vprašanju Južne Koroške s koroško deželno vlado ali Državnim uradom za zunanje zadeve na Dunaju. Pogajanja med Ljubljano, Celovcem, Gradcem in Dunajem so bila brezuspešna. Slovenska vlada je zamudila pravi trenutek, ko je bilo še marsikaj mogoče. Vladalo je prepričanje, da bodo Slovenci na mirovni konferenci dobili to, kar bodo zahtevali. Medtem ko je koroški začasni deželni zbor v ustavi predvideval samoodločbo narodov, kar je veljalo tudi za Slovence na Koroškem, ki naj bi o svoji pripadnosti odločali na plebiscitu, je slovenska vlada plebiscitu nasprotovala in ga je skušala preprečiti. Na ameriško delegacijo, ki je sicer prišla v Pariz z namenom, da se zavzame za mejo na Dravi, je pomembno vplivala t. i. Milesova misija, ki je večino časa prebila na nemško-avstrijski strani Koroške, prišla pa je do zaključka, da se Celovška kotlina iz zemljepisnih in gospodarskih razlogov naj ne deli. Na mirovni konferenci je obveljala Wilsonova doktrina o samoodločbi narodov.

Razpoloženje med prebivalstvom volilne cone A se je konec leta 1919 za Kraljevino SHS vidno poslabšalo. Predvsem je to bil tudi rezultat zaprtja demarkacijske meje, ki se je odprla šele na pritisk medzavezniške volilne komisije avgusta 1920. Nemško-koroška stran, ki jo je najprej vodil deželni organ potem pa je bil marca 1920 za to ustanovljen *Heimatdienst*, je z načrtno propagando med prebivalstvom, tajno tudi preko demarkacijske meje, zelo spretno izpostavljala slabosti slovenske uprave, npr. neredno oskrbo prebivalstva, pomanjkanje prometnih povezav (predvsem prekinjeno zvezo s Celovcem), težave s prodajo kmetijskih pridelkov, pomanjkanje industrijskih izdelkov, naraščajoče cene … Pri tem je bila še posebej močna agitacija proti Srbom. Očitno so finančna sredstva za to propagandno akcijo prihajala tudi iz Nemčije. Rezultat plebiscita je potem pokazal, da je območje južno od Drave votiralo za Kraljevino SHS, kar pa seveda ni bilo več odločujoče.

CARINTHIAN REGIONAL GOVERNMENT AND CARINTHIAN POLITICAL PARTIES – AN ATTEMPT TO CONTRIBUTE TO UNDERSTANDING THE SITUATION IN CARINTHIA BEFORE THE PLEBISCIT

Tamara GRIESSER-PEČAR
Study Centre for National Reconciliation, Tivolska 42, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: tamara.griesser@gmx.at

SUMMARY

After the dissolution of the Habsburg monarchy, the situation in Carinthia was very tense. Representatives of the Slovenians, represented by the National Council for Carinthia, were not invited to the joint consultation of the Carinthian parties following the key of the 1911 national elections. However, an executive committee was elected to prepare the constitution of the Provisional Regional Assembly, which met for the first time on 11 November. It elected a provincial committee and a provisional provincial government, adopted a provisional constitution providing for the self-determination of peoples, which was also to apply to Slovenians, and issued a declaration that Carinthia was a province of German Austria. The National Government set up a Slovenian Commissariat in Klagenfurt. As the German-Croatian authorities wanted to avoid an armed confrontation with the troops of the emerging SHS-state, a delegation from Carinthia came to Ljubljana and proposed that a neutral zone be established under the administration of a joint commission by both sides, pending the final decision of the Peace Conference. The national government refused. It was then possible to reach an agreement with the Carinthian regional government on the border on the river Drava, or at least on the demarcation line, which would have influenced the decision in Paris. Negotiations between Ljubljana, Klagenfurt, Graz and Vienna were fruitless. Then it came to clashes between Slovenian and Carinthian troops. The so-called Miles Commission, which stayed mainly in the German-Austrian part of Carinthia, opposed the division of the Klagenfurt Basin because of economic and geographical grounds, which influenced the American peace delegation. While the Austro-Croatian side advocated a plebiscite, the Slovenian side tried to prevent it. The Peace Conference decided that a plebiscite would be held in Carinthia – first in Zone A under Slovene administration and then, if the Slovenes decide for the SHS-Kingdom, in Zone B under the existing Carinthian administration. The mood in the population of electoral zone A had visibly worsened for the Kingdom of SHS by the end of 1919 for the following reasons: prejudice against the Serbs, irregular supplies to the population, cut-off connection with Klagenfurt, rising prices, lack of transport links, problems with the sale of agricultural products, shortage of industrial products, unfulfilled promises of compensation. The Carinthian authorities made clever propaganda use of all this, organizing social support and flooding Zone A with propaganda

material, despite the closure of the demarcation line by August 1920. First, they established a special propaganda office, and then in March 1920 the Heimatdienst was organized. They also made sure that those who had left Zone A, come back to vote. At the Carinthian plebiscite that was held on 10 October 1920 in the Zone A, on the territory predominately settled by Slovenian, the majority voted in favor of belonging to the newly established Republic of Austria.

Keywords: Republic German Austria, Carinthian Provisional Provincial Assembly, Arthur Lemisch, negotiations in Graz, Miles mission, Lambert Ehrlich, propaganda, plebiscite

VIRI IN LITERATURA

Almond, N. & R. H. Lutz (1935): The Treaty of St. Germain. A Documentary History of its Territorial and Political Clauses. With a Survey of the Documents of the Supreme Council of the Paris Peace Conference. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Andrejka, V. (1928): Razvoj vojaštva in vojaški dogodki od prevrata do danes. V: Mal, J. (ur.): Slovenci v desetletju 1918–1928: zbornik razprav iz kulturne, gospodarske in politične zgodovine. Ljubljana, Leonova družba, 269–295.

ARS, AS 58 – Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Ljubljana (ARS), Narodni svet za Slovenijo, 1917–1919 (AS 58).

ARS, AS 60 – ARS, Pokrajinska uprava za Slovenijo, Predsedstvo, 1918–1924 (AS 60).

ARS, AS 61 – ARS, Pokrajinska uprava za Slovenijo, Oddelek za notranje zadeve, 1919–1924 (AS 61).

ARS, AS 1164 – ARS, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja v Ljubljani, 1809–2001 (AS 1164).

Bajc, G. & J. Osojnik (2019): Odnos Velike Britanije do Avstro-Ogrske leta 1918 in dogajanja na Koroškem po koncu prve svetovne vojne. Studia Historica Slovenica, 19, 2, 467– 491.

Barker, T. M. (1960): The Slovenes of Carinthia: A National Minority Problem. New York, Washington, League of CSA.

Beer, S. (2002): Sherman Miles − vor und nach Kärnten 1919. Anmerkungen zu einer hauptsächlich nachrichtendienstlichen Karriere in der US-Armee. V: Valentin, H., Haiden, S. & B. Maier (ur.): Die Kärtner Volksabstimmung 1920 und die Geschichtsforschung: Leistungen, Defizite, Perspektiven. Klagenfurt, Heyn, cop., 309–317.

Brejc, J. (1928): Od prevrata do ustave. V: Mal, J. (ur.): Slovenci v desetletju 1918–1928: zbornik razprav iz kulturne, gospodarske in politične zgodovine. Ljubljana, Leonova družba, 160–214.

Burz, U. (1998): Die nationalistische Bewegung in Kärnten (1918–1933). Vom Deutschnationalismus zum Führerprinzip. Klagenfurt, Verlag des Kärntner Landesarchivs.

Burz, U. (2002): Historiographische Bruchlinien zwischen Wien und Kärnten – Dokumente zur ‚Abwehrkampf' These. V: Valentin, H., Haiden, S. & B. Maier (ur.): Die Kärtner Volksabstimmung 1920 und die Geschichtsforschung: Leistungen, Defizite, Perspektiven. Klagenfurt, Heyn, cop., 113–149.

Coolidge, H. J. & R. H. Lord (1932): Archibald Cary Coolidge: Life and Letters. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company.

Ehrlich, L. (1919): La Carinthie. Paris.

Ehrlich, L. (1921): Pariška mirovna konferenca. V: Koledar Družbe Sv. Mohorja za navadno leto 1922. Prevalje, Družba Sv. Mohorja na Prevaljah, 356–364.

Fräss-Ehrfeld, C. (1975): Die Berichte der Miles-Mission bezüglich der endgültigen Grenze in Kärnten. Carinthia I, 165, 255–266.

Fräss-Ehrfeld, C. (1981): Die alliierte Kontrolle der Verwaltung in den Kärntner Abstimmungszonen. V: Rumpler, H. (ur.): Kärntens Volksabstimmung 1920: Wissenschaftliche Kontroversen und historisch-politische Diskussionen anläßlich des internationalen Symposions Klagenfurt 1980. Klagenfurt, Kärntner Druck-und Verlagsgesellschaft m.b.H., 158–177.

Fräss-Ehrfeld, C. (1986): Die Rolle der USA in der Kärntner Frage 1918–1920. Carinthia I, 176, 61–72.

Fräss-Ehrfeld, C. (2019): Die Grenzfindung in Kärnten 1918 bis 1920 aus österreichischer Sicht. V: Hafner, G. et al.: Grenzen: Trennung und Verbindung 1918–1920 / Meje: ločujejo in povezujejo 1918–1920. Klagenfurt/Celovec, Ljubljana/Laibach, Wien/Dunaj, Hermagoras/Mohorjeva, 91–100.

Freie Stimmen. Klagenfurt, 1881–1938.

Geiger, C. M. (2001): Die Berichte der Coolidge Mission im Jahr 1919. Klagenfurt, Verlag des Kärntner Landesarchivs.

Grafenauer, B., Ude, L. & M. Veselko (ur.) (1946): Koroški zbornik. Ljubljana, Državna založba Slovenije.

Griesser-Pečar, Tamara (2009): Politično življenje v Celovcu 1914–1918, s posebnim poudarkom na delovanju Slovencev. Studia Historica Slovenica, 9, 2–3, 439–467.

Griesser-Pečar, T. (2010): Die Stellung der slowenischen Landesregierung zum Land Kärnten 1918–1920. Klagenfurt/Celovec, Ljubljana/Laibach, Wien/Dunaj, Hermagoras/Mohorjeva.

Kärntner Tagblatt. Klagenfurt, 1893–1938.

Kromer, C. (1970): Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und die Frage Kärnten 1918–1920. Klagenfurt, Geschichtsverein für Kärnten.

Kuhar, A. (1956): Poglavje iz tragedije koroških Slovencev. V: Zbornik – koledar Svobodne Slovenije, 8. Buenos Aires, Svobodna Slovenija, 47–79.

Lavrič, A. (1923): Koroški spomini (tipkopis).

Mir. Celovec, 1882–1920.

Osojnik, J., Bajc, G. & M. Matjašič Friš (2020): Koroška leta 1919 in ozadje sprejetja odločitve o plebiscitu – britanski pogled in reakcije v slovenskem tisku. Studia Historica Slovenica, 20, 2, 525–563.

ÖstA, HHStA, NPA – Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖstA), Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), Neues Politisches Archiv (NPA).

Perovšek, J. (2019a): Narodni svet in slovenska samoodločba leta 1918. Studia Historica Slovenica, 19, 2, 333–367.

Perovšek, J. (2019b): Nastanek Države Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov 29. oktobra 1918 in njen narodnozgodovinski pomen. Studia Historica Slovenica, 19, 2, 369–398.

Perovšek, J. (2020): Politični položaj na Slovenskem leta 1919. Studia Historica Slovenica, 20, 2, 359–394.

Peter-Pirkham, A. (1960): Meine außenpolitische Tätigkeit im Kampfe um Kärnten. Carinthia I, 150, 582–602.

Pleterski, J. (1970a): Slovenska Koroška pred 1. svetovno vojno. V: Pleterski, J., Ude, L. & T. Zorn (ur.): Koroški plebiscit: razprave in članki. Ljubljana, Slovenska matica.

Pleterski, J. (1970b): Koroški Slovenci med 1. svetovno vojno. V: Pleterski, J., Ude, L. & T. Zorn (ur.): Koroški plebiscit: razprave in članki. Ljubljana, Slovenska matica.

Pleterski, Janko (1970c): O prvinah in o značaju plebiscitne odločitve. V: Pleterski, J., Ude, L. & T. Zorn (ur.): Koroški plebiscit: razprave in članki. Ljubljana, Slovenska matica, 215–266.

Pleterski, J. (1980): Elemente und Charakter der plebiszitären Entscheidung 1920 in Kärnten. Celovec, Slovenski znanstveni inštitut/Slowenisches wissenschaftliches Institut.

Prepeluh, A. (1938): Pripombe k naši prevratni dobi: z zemljevidoma Koroške in Primorja ter s sliko A. Prepeluha. Ljubljana, Založba Univerzitetne tiskarne J. Blasnika nasl.

Rahten, A. (2018): Diplomatska prizadevanja Ivana Žolgerja za Slovensko Štajersko in Prekmurje. Studia Historica Slovenica, 18, 2, 489–528.

Rahten, A. (2019): „Šampanjec v Gradcu in nemške demivierges“ – ocena delovanja podpolkovnika Shermana Milesa na Štajerskem leta 1919. Studia Historica Slovenica, 19, 3, 781–813.

Rahten, A. (2020a): Po razpadu skupne države. Slovensko-avstrijska razhajanja od mariborskega prevrata do koroškega plebiscita. Celje, Celovec, Gorica, Celje, Celjska Mohorjeva družba, Društvo Mohorjeva družba, Mohorjeva družba, Goriška Mohorjeva družba.

Rahten, A. (2020b): Koroška po plebiscitu. Revanšizem, revizionizem in pregoni v poplebiscitnih mesecih. Studia Historica Slovenica, 20, 2, 565–595.

Sejni zapisniki/1 – Sejni zapisniki Narodne vlade Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov v Ljubljani in Deželnih vlad za Slovenijo 1918–1921. 1. del: Od 1. nov. 1918 do 26. feb. 1919. Ribnikar, P. (ur.). Ljubljana, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, 1998.

Slovenec. Ljubljana, 1873–1945.

Suppan, Arnold (1981): Der Stellenwert des kärntnerisch-slowenischen Grenzkonflikts für die Wiener Regierung 1918–1920. V: Rumpler, H. (ur.): Kärntens Volksabstimmung 1920: Wissenschaftliche Kontroversen und historisch-politische Diskussionen anläßlich des internationalen Symposions Klagenfurt 1980. Klagenfurt, Kärntner Druck-und Verlagsgesellschaft m.b.H., 178–214.

Suppan, A. (2002): Die Kärntner Volksabstimmung 1920 und die neuere internationale Historiographie. V: Valentin, H., Haiden, S. & B. Maier (ur.): Die Kärtner Volksabstimmung 1920 und die Geschichtsforschung: Leistungen, Defizite, Perspektiven. Klagenfurt, Heyn, cop, 91–111.

Tomšič, I. (1935): Nekaj pogledov na pravno organizacijo plebiscita na Koroškem dne 10. oktobra 1920. Ljubljana, Slovenski pravnik.

Ude, L. (1970): Deklaracijsko gibanje pri Slovencih. Zgodovinski časopis, 24, 3–4, 191–207.

Veiter, T. (1981): Die Kärntner Volksabstimmung im europäischen und internationalen Vergleich. V: Rumpler, H. (ur.): Kärntens Volksabstimmung 1920: Wissenschaftliche Kontroversen und historisch-politische Diskussionen anläßlich des internationalen Symposions Klagenfurt 1980. Klagenfurt, Kärntner Druck-und Verlagsgesellschaft m.b.H., 347–381.

Vrečar, M. (2002): Uvodna razprava. Acta ecclesiastica Slovenica, 24, 19–52.

Wadl, W. (2002): Die Quellenlage zur Kärntner Frage im Kärntner Landesarchiv. V: Valentin, H., Haiden, S. & B. Maier (ur.): Die Kärtner Volksabstimmung 1920 und die Geschichtsforschung: Leistungen, Defizite, Perspektiven. Klagenfurt, Heyn, cop., 79–88.

Wutte, M. (1943): Kärntens Freiheitskampf. Weimar, H. Böhlaus Nachfolger.

Received: 2021-11-15 DOI 10.19233/AH.2021.40

LIBERALCI IN ANTON KOROŠEC V LETIH 1918–1940

Jurij PEROVŠEK
Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, Privoz 11, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-pošta: jurij.perovsek@inz.si

IZVLEČEK

Globoka in trajna idejna ter politična nasprotja med liberalnim in katoliškim taborom, ki ga je poosebljal načelnik Slovenske ljudske stranke in vodilni slovenski politik v Kraljevini Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev (od 1929 Kraljevina Jugoslavija) dr. Anton Korošec (1872–1940), so se v njegovem času zrcalila predvsem v vprašanju naroda in države. Liberalci so Korošca videli kot voditelja politikujoče duhovščine in izrazito klerikalnega politika. Večkrat so ga politično tudi hudo napadli. Na podlagi analize tedanjih časopisov je v pričujočem članku avtor predstavil kritične ocene in napade s strani liberalnega tabora proti Korošcu, kot voditelju »klerikalnega« tabora.

Ključne besede: liberalizem, Anton Korošec, politični katolicizem, avtonomija, centralizem, jugoslovanstvo, Kraljevina SHS/Jugoslavija

I LIBERALI E ANTON KOROŠEC NEL PERIODO TRA IL 1918 E IL 1940

SINTESI

Le contraddizioni ideologiche e politiche profonde e durature tra il campo liberale e quello cattolico, il quale veniva impersonato dal capo del Partito popolare Sloveno e leader politico sloveno nel Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni (dal 1929 Regno di Jugoslavia) il dr. Anton Korošec (1872–1940), a suo tempo si riflettevano principalmente intorno alla questione della nazione e dello stato. Per i liberali Korošec era il capo di un clero politicizzato e un politico distintamente clericale. Di coseguenza veniva spesso duramente attaccato politicamente. Con l'analisi dei giornali di allora, nel presente articolo l'autore presenta le valutazioni critiche e gli attacchi da parte del campo liberale contro Korošec come leader del campo «clericale».

Parole chiave: liberalismo, Anton Korošec, cattolicesimo politico, autonomia, centralismo, jugoslavismo, Regno di SHS/Jugoslavia

UVOD[1]

Tako kot vsakega pomembnega politika, je tudi dr. Antona Korošca (1872–1940) v njegovem političnem in državniškem delovanju spremljalo nasprotujoče vrednotenje. Po eni strani so ga izražali z množično podporo in čustvom skrajne privrženosti, ki ju je Korošec užival kot dolgoletni prvak slovenskega katoliškega tabora, po drugi strani pa je živelo v izrazitem odklanjanju, s katerim so nanj gledali pripadniki liberalnega in marksističnega tabora. V okviru tradicionalnega katoliško-liberalnega nasprotja so odklonilni ideološki in politični pogled na Korošca najbolj poudarjeno oblikovali na liberalni strani. Na podlagi analize številnih časopisov tedanjega obdobja ter z upoštevanjem najbolj relevantne znanstvene literature je v pričujočem članku avtor predstavil kritične ocene in napade s strani liberalnega tabora proti Korošcu, kot voditelju »klerikalnega« tabora.

OD SLOŽNOSTI OKOLI KOROŠCA – NARODNEGA VODITELJA, DO ZAČETKA POLITIČNEGA TEKMOVANJA

Odnos liberalcev do Korošca je v dobrih tridesetih letih njihovega medsebojnega boja leta 1918 za krajši čas dobil enoten vseslovenski značaj. Junija 1918 so v Ljubljani ustanovili vseslovensko liberalno Jugoslovansko demokratsko stranko (JDS), v katero so se združile vse do tedaj obstoječe slovenske liberalne stranke (Perovšek, 2020, 362–364). Naslednje leto so ob JDS ustanovili še dve liberalni stranki, Samostojno kmetijsko stranko (SKS) (Steinbacher & Rahten, 2019, 74–75) in Narodno socialistično stranko (NSS), in tudi ti stranki so v prvi jugoslovanski državi organizirali v vseslovenskem obsegu (prim. Perovšek, 2020, 364–365). Skoraj do konca avstrijske dobe je bilo drugače, saj je tedanji slovenski liberalizem nastopal po ločenih pokrajinskih političnih strankah. Korošca je predvsem spremljala liberalna Narodna stranka na Štajerskem, kjer je bil prvi politik tamkajšnjega katoliškega gibanja. Seveda so se ob njem ustavljali tudi v drugih delih liberalnega političnega prostora na Slovenskem – v Narodno napredni stranki za Kranjsko (NNSK) in Narodno napredni stranki za Goriško.

Z Majniško deklaracijo maja 1917 in iz nje porojenim deklaracijskim gibanjem je Korošec postal nesporni slovenski narodni voditelj.[2] Njegov primat za liberalce ni bil vprašljiv in z njim so sodelovali v skupnem narodnemancipacijskem boju. Iz njihovih vrst je izhajal tudi tajnik parlamentarnega Jugoslovanskega kluba na Dunaju dr. Gregor Žerjav, ki je tedaj, in krajši čas še

---

1 Članek je nastal v okviru izvajanja raziskovalnega programa *Idejnopolitični in kulturni puralizem in monizem na Slovenskem v 20. stoletju* (ARRS, P6-0281), ki ga sofinancira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARRS) iz državnega proračuna.

2 Objavo deklaracije v vodilnem slovenskem liberalnem glasilu *Slovenski narod*, 31. 5. 1917: Otvoritvena seja državnega zbora, 1. O deklaracijskem gibanju: Stavbar, 2017, 79–228; Perovšek, 2018a, 421–442.

kasneje, sodeloval s predsednikom kluba in načelnikom katoliške Vseslovenske ljudske stranke Korošcem. Na vrhuncu deklaracijskega gibanja, ko so Korošcu ob obisku Ljubljane 23. in 24. marca 1918 slovesno izročili več kot 200.000 podpisov slovenskih žena in deklet za Majniško deklaracijo, mu je ljubljanski župan in načelnik liberalne NNSK dr. Ivan Tavčar na narodnem večeru v Unionu 23. marca 1918 zagotovil, »*da ostane Ljubljana na Vaši strani in da Vas bo podpirala z vsemi svojimi močmi, dokler ne bo pobito na tla oholo nemštvo!*« V imenu izvrševalnega odbora NNSK pa je glavni urednik njenega glasila *Slovenskega naroda* dr. Albert Kramer Korošca pozdravil z besedami, da ljudstvo v njem vidi voditelja, »ki bo naše vrste preko vseh sporov, nasprotstev in nezaupanja vodil kot mogočno za boj proti našim sovragom«. In dodal: »*Vse Vaše in Vaših tovarišev delovanje nas je učilo zaupanja v samega sebe, nas je učilo pozabiti žalostno dobo bratomornega boja, učilo, da nas mora spajati velika ljubezen brez razlike v svetovnem naziranju in da nas mora ta velika ljubezen zbrati v trdno celoto. Spoznali pa smo tudi, da mora biti naša bodočnost tudi v strankarskem oziru lepša, kakor je bila naša preteklost. Danes, ko stojimo bok ob boku v boju proti skupnemu sovražniku, ko si zremo oko v oko kot bratje, ali si morete predstavljati, da se bomo bojevali še kdaj drug proti drugemu po starih strupenih metodah?*« Kramer se je zavedal, da bo tudi ta velika doba našla svoj konec. »*Po dobljeni zmagi se bomo zopet vrnili na vsakdanje delo. Stranke ne bodo prenehale. Noben kulturen narod ne more živeti brez političnega tekmovanja. Prepričan pa sem, da se nikdar več ne bo vrnil strup bratomornega sovraštva v naše vrste in da bodemo v bodoče uredili naše razmerje po načelih medsebojnega spoštovanja, lojalnosti in poštenosti.*« Nadaljeval je, da mu Narodno napredna stranka in vsi njeni privrženci »*v boju za sveto narodno stvar sledijo do zadnjega moža.* [...] *Mi smo pripravljeni prevzeti soodgovornost in vse hočemo storiti, da v Vas in Vaših tovariših utrdimo živo zavest, da se bojujete res kot mandatarji celega naroda kot vestni in vztrajni zastopniki vsega, kar pri nas pošteno misli.* [...] *Slavna družba!*«. Kramer je še zaključil: »*Prosim Vas, da z menoj vzkliknete: Živel načelnik Jugoslovanskega kluba dr. Korošec in vsi njegovi tovariši!*«[3]

Spravljivo razmerje med liberalci in Korošcem se je ohranilo skozi vse tedanje narodnoemancipacijske napore in t. i. prevratno obdobje do novega političnega zagona v jugoslovanski kraljevini (Perovšek, 2019b). V tem času so na liberalni strani poudarjali, da je Korošec voditelj in prvoboritelj slovenskega naroda, mož, ki uživa njegovo neomajno zaupanje in je poosebljena misel jugoslovanske svobode, samostojnosti in neodvisnosti. JDS ga v celoti podpira. Poročali so o njegovi dejavnosti in funkcijah, ki jih je opravljal – vodenju Narodnega sveta za Slovenijo in Istro v Ljubljani (Perovšek, 2019a) in Narodnega Vijeća SHS v Zagrebu (Narodno Vijeće), Ženevski konferenci in njeni deklaraciji 6.–9. novembra 1918, vrnitvi v Slovenijo in udeležbi na seji Narodne vlade SHS v

3 *Slovenski narod*, 26. 3. 1918: Praznik slovenskega ženstva, 2.

Ljubljani 2. decembra 1918, poti prek Zagreba v Beograd in ob tem o udeležbi na seji Narodnega Vijeća 4. decembra 1918, ter avdienci pri prestolonasledniku Aleksandru Karađorđeviću 8. decembra 1918.[4]

Eden od podpredsednikov JDS in dotedanji liberalni poslanec v dunajskem državnem zboru dr. Vladimir Ravnihar je v svojem govoru 1. decembra 1918 v Mestnem domu v Ljubljani opozoril še na Koroščevo dosledno narodnopolitično držo na njegovi znani zadnji avdienci pri cesarju Karlu I. Habsburškem 12. oktobra 1918.[5] *Slovenski narod* je že neposredno po avdienci poročal, da je Korošec »*vladarju prostodušno odgovarjal ter mu razlagal program našega troimenega naroda SHS*«.[6] Nato pa je ob pretrganju državnopravnih vezi z Avstrijo eden od zgodovinskih voditeljev slovenskega liberalizma Ivan Hribar na znameniti narodni manifestaciji 29. oktobra 1918 v Ljubljani Korošca imenoval naš voditelj in apostol jugoslovanstva. Podaril je, da je skupaj s predsednikom Jugoslovanskega odbora, politične organizacije hrvaških, srbskih in slovenskih političnih emigrantov iz Avstro-Ogrske, ki so se med vojno v tujini zavzemali za ustanovitev jugoslovanske države, dr. Antejem Trumbićem, položil »*prvi temeljni kamen samostojni in suvereni državi Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov*«.[7]

V tistem času so bile slovenske stranke složne in so skupaj delovale. Kasneje so složno določile tudi slovensko zastopstvo v Začasno narodno predstavništvo Kraljestva Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev (Kraljestvo SHS; od jeseni 1920 Kraljevina SHS) marca 1919. V prvi jugoslovanski vladi, oblikovani decembra 1918, je bilo razmerje med tedaj vodilnima slovenskima politikoma, ministroma Koroščem in Kramerjem (Korošec je bil še podpredsednik vlade), celo tako složno in idilično, da sta v Beogradu stanovala v skupni sobi (Stavbar, 2014, 286).

Kot je v nagovoru Koroščeu marca 1918 v Ljubljani dejal Albert Kramer, Slovenci, tako kot drugi narodi, po ustanovitvi Kraljestva SHS niso mogli dolgo živeti brez političnega tekmovanja. V novi državi so bili tudi nadalje zazrti v ideološki boj, ki so ga kmalu obnovili (Vidovič-Miklavčič, 1994, 46). Ko je na zboru svojih zaupnikov 6. in 7. aprila 1920 v Ljubljani katoliška Slovenska ljudska stranka (SLS) pretresla svoj program v jugoslovanski državi, Korošca pa so ponovno izbrali za njenega načelnika, se je v *Slovenskem narodu* oglasil tedanji predsednik JDS in pred tem predsednik Narodne stranke na Štajerskem dr. Vekoslav Kukovec. Korošcu, ki je bil v avstrijski dobi Kukovčev oster nasprotnik in do njega mnogo-

4 *Slovenski narod*, 14. 8. 1918: Slovanski dnevi v Ljubljani, 1; 17. 8. 1918: Sprejem slovanskih gostov s severa, 2; 12. 10. 1918: Osrednji Narodni svet, 1; 14. 10. 1918: Narodni vstajajo, 1; 30. 10. 1918: Manifestacijski sprevod v Ljubljani, 2; 13. 11. 1918: Jugoslovanska država ustanovljena! – 13 milijonov prebivalcev!, 1; 15. 11. 1918: Jugoslovanske konference v Ženevi, 1; 20. 11. 1918: Član Narodnega vijeća v Zagrebu in Narodne vlade v Ljubljani dr. Kukovec o položaju, 1; 28. 11. 1918: Ženevska pogodba, 2; 3. 12. 1918: Dr. Korošec o političnem položaju, 1; 4. 12. 1918: Prihod in sprejem dr. Korošca v Zagrebu, 1; 5. 12. 1918: Izjave dr. Korošca v Zagrebu, 1; 6. 12. 1918: Nekaj predzgodovine o naši svobodi, 1; 9. 12. 1918: Dr. Korošec pri regentu Aleksandru, 1; 27. 12. 1918: Ženevska konferenca, 1–2.

5 *Slovenski narod*, 6. 12. 1918: Nekaj predzgodovine o naši svobodi, 1; prim. Griesser-Pečar, 2019, 325.

6 *Slovenski narod*, 14. 10. 1918: Narodi vstajajo, 1.

7 *Slovenski narod*, 30. 10. 1918: Manifestacijski sprevod v Ljubljani, 2.

krat tudi zelo žaljiv (Stavbar, 2014, 207), je bil že tedaj gorák; leta 1910 je dejal, da pozna »*srce in obisti*« Antona Korošca mogoče bolje kot on sam.[8] Deset let kasneje je ob množičnem zaupniškem zboru SLS v kulturnobojnem tonu zapisal, »*da je žalosten pojav, da je v letu po ujedinjenju naroda bilo mogoče združiti pri nas pod praporom črne internacijonale tolikšno armado janičarjev*«. Kukovec med tedanjim zborom SLS in njenimi zbori v avstrijski dobi, ko je stranko vodil dr. Ivan Šusteršič, ni videl razlike. »*Nič več sledu o jugoslovenskem dr. Korošcu ves, Šusteršič!*«[9] Korošcu je globoko zameril, ker je liberalce v JDS označil za politične mrtvece, s svojo napovedjo parlamentarnega boja proti demokratom pa je razkril »*svoje staro tolsto srce*«.[10] Za Kukovca je bil Korošec »*jezuitski lisjak*«, ki je, skupaj s predsednikom vlade Stojanom Protićem, v kateri je bil prometni minister, proti demokratom naščuval mnogoštevilne pse. »*Vi vlečete na dan sekiro, ki se je za večno skrhala z zmago demokratske svetovne ideje, mi pa zaupamo v zdrav razum in zdravo srce našega demokratičnega naroda.*«[11] Leta 1920 so demokrati Korošca še zbodli z opazko, da kot klerik o železnicah – namigovali so na njegovo tedanjo ministrsko funkcijo – ne ve mnogo več kot to, da je salonski voz udobnejši kot tretji razred.[12] Po volitvah v Ustavodajno skupščino 28. novembra 1920, na katerih je SLS zmagala le z relativno večino, medtem ko je do tedaj zmagovala z absolutno večino, pa so pribili, da se v Beogradu ne more več postavljati kot predstavnik večine slovenskega naroda. Ta poza mu je pomagala, da je SLS imela prvo mesto ob sprejemu in obisku prestolonaslednika Aleksandra Karađorđevića v Sloveniji konec junija 1920.[13]

LIBERALNA KMETIJSKA POLITIKA PROTI KOROŠCU

Tudi drugi dve liberalni stranki, Samostojna kmetijska stranka in Narodna socialistična stranka, sta v tistem času o Korošcu podali več kritičnih ocen. SKS je opozarjala, da po svoji kmečki osnovi z njim nima nič skupnega.[14] Kot voditelja »klerikalne« stranke, ki hoče biti za vsako ceno kralj Slovenije in zasužnjevati slovenskega kmeta v slepi pokorščini do gospode, ga ne spoštuje, in se bo proti njemu borila.[15] Oponašala mu je tudi, da je kot duhovnik vodil ministrstvo za promet.[16] Ob Koroščevem položaju prometnega ministra se je kasneje ustavila tudi NSS. Očitala mu je, da je s svojo nepopustljivostjo do delovno-socialnih zahtev železničarjev

8 *Narodni dnevnik*, 18. 4. 1910: Dr. Kukovec o klerikalni obstrukciji v Gradcu, 1.
9 *Slovenski narod*, 14. 4. 1920: Ob glavnem zboru ljudske stranke, 1.
10 *Slovenec*, 8. 4. 1920: Zbor zaupnikov Slovenske ljudske stranke, 1; *Slovenski narod*, 14. 4. 1920: Ob glavnem zboru ljudske stranke, 1.
11 *Slovenski narod*, 14. 4. 1920: Ob glavnem zboru ljudske stranke, 1.
12 *Slovenski narod*, 10. 11. 1920: Klerikalni politiki, 1.
13 *Jutro*, 2. 12. 1920: Ljubljana, 1. decembra, 1.
14 *Kmetijski list*, 25. 9. 1919: Dr. Korošec in kmetje, 1.
15 *Kmetijski list*: posebna izdaja, 20. 11. 1919: Dr. Korošec in shod v »Unionu«, 1.
16 *Kmetijski list*, 26. 2. 1920: Nova vlada v Beogradu, 1.

le-te prisilil k odločitvi za njihovo znano stavko aprila 1920, ki je nato dobila splošni značaj, in se končala s prelito krvjo na Zaloški cesti v Ljubljani.[17] Sicer pa je v njem videla voditelja konservativne politikujoče duhovščine in ga obtoževala, da je kot minister podpisal ratifikacijo rapalske pogodbe,[18] sklenjene med Kraljevino Italijo in Kraljevino SHS 12. novembra 1920.

Kar zadeva SKS, velja opozoriti še na poudarke, ki so jih v njenih vrstah izrekli v času po preteku prvih Koroščevih ministrskih položajev v Kraljevini SHS leta 1920. Očitali so mu, da je kot minister z različnimi dejanji omejeval gospodarski napredek kmetov in pripomogel k davčni obremenitvi Slovenije.[19] Po odhodu SLS v opozicijo konec decembra 1920 naj bi mu bilo najvažnejše, da »*enkrat v boljših časih* [...] *prileze zopet iz svoje bube kot kosmata gosenica – minister*«.[20] Je minister po hrepenenju in hotenju in brez vlade sploh ne more živeti.[21] Sedaj pa se »*ne more več vsesti v ministrsko klop v skupščini, temveč se samo nasloniti nanjo*«.[22] Deklaracijsko in nato prevratno obdobje ga je dvignilo v višino, ki ji ni dorasel. Ljudstvo ga je povzdignilo v narodnega voditelja, on pa je svoj ugled zlorabil tako, da ga je prenesel na SLS in v Beogradu deloval kot da on in njegova stranka predstavljata ves slovenski narod.[23]

Liberalni kmetijci so Korošcu neutemeljeno očitali, da je na Ženevski konferenci podprl oblikovanje enotne jugoslovanske države in kot predsednik Narodnega Vijeća zapravil avtonomijo Slovenije. Točni pa so bili njihovi poudarki o njegovi in strankini popustljivosti glede izvajanja centralistične politike v času, ko je bila SLS v letih neposredno po nastanku jugoslovanske države v vladi.[24] Stranka je tedaj v želji, da bi čim dalje ostala na oblasti, tako zaradi krepitve svojega položaja v Sloveniji kot zaradi vpliva na nadaljnji razvoj vprašanja notranje državne ureditve, začela podpirati radikalnejšo centralistično politiko, da bi se s

17 *Nova pravda*, 18. 11. 1922: Politične vesti: razlika med desnimi in levimi elementi SLS, 2; 25. 11. 1922: Zlate resnice[,] ki jih mora vsak zaveden delavec v času volitev vedeti, 1; 28. 11. 1922: Kje je tekla kri!, 2; 2. 12. 1922: V strahu za volilce, 6. Posebej o Korošcu in železničarski stavki aprila 1920 glej: Ratej, 2010.

18 *Nova pravda*, 23. 11. 1920: Nezaupnica, 1; 23. 11. 1920: Politične vesti: dr. Korošec s težkim srcem!, 2; 18. 11. 1922: Politične vesti: razlika med desnimi in levimi elementi SLS, 2. O Koroščevem ravnanju glede podpisa ratifikacije rapalske pogodbe: Zečević, 1977, 338–341.

19 *Kmetijski list*, 13. 1. 1921: Kolegom poslancem iz klerikalnih vrst za novoletnico, 1; 21. 4. 1921: Delo poslancev »Samostojne kmetijske stranke za Slovenijo« in hudobija klerikalcev, 5; 1. 9. 1921: Pokrajinske vesti: klerikalci in davki, 4; 1. 12. 1921: Pokrajinske vesti: gospod doktor, diplomo nazaj!, 3; 15. 3. 1923: Klerikalna volilna gesla, 1; 8. 10. 1924: Davki, 2.

20 *Kmetijski list*, 13. 1. 1921: Kolegom poslancem iz klerikalnih vrst za novoletnico, 2.

21 *Kmetijski list*, 12. 1. 1922: Zbor naših zaupnikov, 2; 11. 10. 1922: Politične vesti: 10. oktobra, 4.

22 *Kmetijski list*, 27. 9. 1922: Maščevanje gospoda Korošca, 1.

23 *Kmetijski list*, 4. 8. 1921: Nekaj o naših strankah, 1; 27. 9. 1922: Maščevanje gospoda Korošca, 1; 11. 10. 1922: Politične vesti: 10. oktobra, 4.

24 *Kmetijski list*, 4. 6. 1924: »Domoljubu«, 2; 2. 7. 1924: Dopisi: Dol pri Ljubljani, 2; 8. 10. 1924: Davki, 2; 24. 12. 1924: Dopisi: Kranj, 5; *Kmetski list*, 16. 6. 1926: Dr. Korošec v zadregi, 3; 28. 7. 1926: Nekaj pojasnil na govor dr. Korošca, 1; 20. 10. 1926: Pomemben shod »Slovenske Kmetske Stranke« pri Sv. Lovrencu na Dolenjskem, 1; 15. 12. 1926: Krasno zborovanje naše stranke na Gorenjskem, 2; 29. 12. 1926: »Slovenstvo«, 1.

predstavnicami centralistične politike lažje sporazumela glede reševanja ustavnega vprašanja (Zečević, 1977, 304–305). V ozadju je bil njen avtonomistični politični načrt. Ob omenjenih očitkih je liberalna kmetijska politika izjavljala, da Korošec ni narodni voditelj ampak zgolj klerikalni, soodgovoren za koroški plebiscitni poraz (Rahten, 2020, 568– 571) ter majhen po političnih zmožnostih, a velik po hujskaštvu, »*paša*« strankinih poslancev in človek brez velike pobožnosti ter razsipnega življenja (dejansko je bil Korošec osebno skromen).[25] Zasluži nič drugega, »*kakor da bi jih dobil petindvajset toplih*«.[26] Trdili so tudi, da se ne more primerjati z nekdanjimi vodilnimi strankinimi predstavniki, dr. Janezom Evangelistom Krekom, dr. Evgenom Lampetom, dr. Ignacijem Žitnikom in zlasti nekdanjim strankinim voditeljem Šusteršičem.[27]

Šusteršič je prva leta po svetovni vojni bival v tujini, kamor se je umaknil ob prevratu leta 1918. Neposredno pred vrnitvijo v domovino, 11. decembra 1922 (Pleterski, 1998, 461), mu je SKS – liberalni kmetijci so kasneje opozarjali naj bi Korošec brezsrčno nasprotoval njegovemu povratku – omogočila, da je v njenem glasilu *Kmetijski list* o Korošcu objavil več (nepodpisanih) obtožujočih člankov. Korošcu je očital, da sta on in SLS brez čuta dolžnosti do volivcev, naroda, države in Cerkve ter da je nestanoviten in brezvesten. Odloča se po trenutnih političnih koristih. Manjka mu vsak čut odgovornosti, svojemu visokemu poklicu ni dorasel, pustil pa je, da se ga časti kot očeta naroda.[28]

Liberalna kmetijska politika se je razumevanju Antona Korošca kot narodnega voditelja oziroma prvega slovenskega politika skozi vsa dvajseta leta posmehovala. V navednicah so ga imenovali *očak Korošec*, *slovenski »Napoleon«*, *oče Slovenije*, *oče slovenske domovine*, *oče slovenskega naroda* in *vodja slovenskega naroda*.[29] Prislužil si je tudi oznako *kitajski cesar*.[30] Z njegovim vodstvenim položajem v stranki sta bili povezani poimenovanji *klerikalni general* in *generalisimus*, na podlagi liberalnega označevanja katoliških politikov za *tigre* pa še poimenovanji *obertiger* in *veliki tiger dr. Korošec*.[31] Oznake *tigri* in *klerikalni*

25 *Kmetijski list*, 13. 1. 1921: Kolegom poslancem iz klerikalnih vrst za novoletnico, 1; 21. 4. 1921: Delo poslancev »Samostojne kmetijske stranke za Slovenijo« in hudobija klerikalcev, 5; 11. 10. 1922: Politične vesti: 10. oktobra, 4; 7. 2. 1923: Zbor zaupnikov SLS, 1; *Kmetski list*, 31. 3. 1926: Vstajenje, 1; 1. 6. 1927: »Vse za vero, dom, cesarja«: ob desetletnici majniške deklaracije, 3.

26 *Kmetijski list*, 1. 9. 1921: Politične vesti: nesramnost drja Korošca, 5.

27 *Kmetijski list*, 27. 9. 1922: Maščevanje gospoda Korošca, 1; Kmetski list, 18. 8. 1926: Odgovor dr. Korošcu, 4.

28 *Kmetijski list*, 18. 10. 1922: Brez čuta dolžnosti, 1; 25. 10. 1922: Kakor kaže, 1; 2. 11. 1922: Molk gospoda Korošca, 1; *Kmetski list*, 27. 1. 1926: Razne politične vesti: »samo v avtonomiji je rešitev«, 6.

29 *Kmetijski list*, 13. 1. 1921: Kolegom poslancem iz klerikalnih vrst za novoletnico, 1; 9. 2. 1923: Nikdar in nikoli!, 1; 5. 11. 1924: Razno: žalostna obletnica, 3; *Kmetski list*, 9. 2. 1927: Razne politične vesti: kdo je zmagal pri zadnjih volitvah?, 57. 3. 1928: Dve podobci, 2.

30 Kmetski list, 25. 8. 1926: Razne politične vesti: kakšen minister je Pucelj?, 4.

31 *Kmetijski list*, 21. 4. 1921: Vse samo iz ljubezni do kmeta, 2; 11. 4. 1923: Brez poštenja, 1; 24. 9. 1924: Klerikalna stranka samo vara kmeta, 1; 24. 12. 1924: Dopisi: Kranj, 5.

tigri so za politike SLS in Korošca uporabljali tudi demokrati.[32] Zanje je bil tudi *oberpater klerikalov*.[33] Po SKS je bil še »*pesnik odrezanega nosu, velebrihtna dika klerikalne učenosti*«.[34]

LIBERALCI O »KLERIKALNEM« KOROŠCU

Osrednji politični problem v narodno integralistično in skoraj do njenega konca centralistično utemeljeni prvi jugoslovanski državi je bilo vprašanje njene notranje ureditve. O tem so se skozi ves čas njenega obstoja ostro spopadali zagovorniki jugoslovanskega narodnega in državnega unitarizma na eni strani ter narodnega pluralizma in avtonomistično-federalističnega državnopravnega programa na drugi strani. Večinski del slovenske liberalne politike je v dvajsetih letih podpiral jugoslovanski narodni in državni unitarizem, v tridesetih letih pa sploh. Korošec in SLS so bili zagovorniki obstoja različnih jugoslovanskih narodnih individualnosti in avtonomistično-federalistično preurejene jugoslovanske države. Liberalci oziroma v večjem delu dvajsetih let njihova vodilna stranka JDS (slovenski del vsedržavne Demokratske stranke – DS, leta 1924 preimenovane v Samostojno demokratsko stranko – SDS) so v tem času boj za jugoslovanski unitarizem dosledno povezovali z ideološkim političnim bojem proti Korošcu in SLS. Očitali so jima, da njuno prizadevanje za slovensko avtonomijo pomeni le boj za popolno oblast političnega katolicizma in njegove ideološke podobe v Sloveniji. Slovenska avtonomija bi pomenila »*kleronomijo*«, to je klerikalno samovlado.[35] »*Če bi duševni bosjaki, kakor vodijo SLS zagospodovali stalno v naši Sloveniji, je za njo gospodarski in kulturni pogin neizogiben. Pregnali bi neodvisne uradnike, terorizirali delavstvo, šikanirali bi učitelje, uničili trgovino in obrt. Zgledi kažejo, da klerikalizem uduši vsak napredek in vsako blagostanje*«, je že leta 1920 zapisal *Slovenski narod*.[36] Drugo demokratsko glasilo *Jutro* je šest let kasneje dodalo: »*Sedaj se pa zamislimo, da bi bila Slovenija nekaka avtonomna država, kakor jo hoče SLS.* [...] *Klerikalni* teror [bi] *za desetletja vzdrževal v Sloveniji klerikalno nadvlado. Nižje in višje upravne instance, javna varnost, vse bi bilo pod komando škofov in politikujoče duhovščine, proti katerih ukrepom ne bi bilo nobene odpomoči več.* [...] *Klerikalci so danes v srečnem položaju, da jim ni treba premišljevati, kako bi z nasiljem zatrli meščansko vojno v avtonomni*

32 Npr. *Jutro*, 6. 6. 1923: Ljubljana, 5. junija, 1; 27. 11. 1923: Politične beležke: Štefan Radić, ta je pa tič!, 2; 3. 2. 1925: Naši kraji in ljudje: politična tragikomedija v Unionu, 3; 12. 2. 1925: Politične beležke: tigri ostanejo sebi zvesti, 2. Glej tudi *Vsi v boj za Narodni blok*, [1925], 1, 5–6, 8, 13, 16, 18, 21, 23, 24.

33 *Vsi v boj za Narodni blok*, [1925], 21.

34 *Kmetijski list*, 1. 12. 1921: Pokrajinske vesti: gospod doktor, diplomo nazaj!, 3.

35 *Slovenski narod*, 10. 11. 1920: Klerikalni politiki, 1. Glej tudi: *Jutro*, 6. 2. 1923: Ljubljana, 5. februarja, 1. Sicer so tudi drugod po tedanji Evropi katoliški politiki in s tem duhovniki skušali ohraniti oblast (Maver & Friš, 2018).

36 *Slovenski narod*, 10. 11. 1920: Klerikalni politiki, 1.

Sloveniji.«[37] Poudarke, da pomeni boj SLS za avtonomijo le prizadevanje za njeno nadvlado in nadvlado duhovščine v Sloveniji, vodi pa ga predstavnik politikujoče duhovščine Korošec, so izrekali tudi v SKS.[38]

Poleg poudarjanja, da boj SLS za avtonomijo pomeni le boj za popolno ideološko in politično oblast katolicizma v Sloveniji, je JDS opozarjala tudi na nevarnost razbijanja Jugoslavije, ki jo predstavljajo avtonomistične zahteve. S tem se »*nastavlja rezilo na celo našo državno idejo*«.[39] V času Narodnega Vijeća je bil Korošec »*med apostoli*« narodne in državne enotnosti in je bilo iz njegovih ust slišali marsikatero lepo besedo o tem, da med Slovenci, Hrvati in Srbi ni nobene razlike, da so ena duša in ena kri od Triglava do Vardarja – bil je skratka glasnik jugoslovanske ideologije. Vendar se je pozneje izkazalo, da je ostal v vodah avstrijskega klerikalnega načina mišljenja in boja, voditelj le po imenu in ne po duhu.[40]

Po duhu naj torej ne bi bil vsejugoslovanski in naj ne bi imel razumevanja do jugoslovanskega državnega smisla, so trdili v *Jutru*. Ko je npr. na volitvah v Narodno skupščino Kraljevine SHS 18. marca 1923, na katerih je SLS z zahtevo po slovenski avtonomiji in samoodločbi ponovno zmagala z absolutno večino glasov, je demokratsko *Jutro* opozorilo, da so Slovenci 1. decembra 1918 »*za večne čase konsumirali pravo samoodločbe s tem, da smo se združili s Srbi in Hrvati v enotno državo na podlagi narodnega edinstva*«. Korošec zato ni upravičen govoriti o novi samoodločbi in državnopravni preureditvi jugoslovanske skupnosti.[41] Po programu SLS naj bi na podlagi samoodločbe oblikovali avtonomno Slovenijo z lastnim parlamentom in vlado (Perovšek, 1998, 82–83). Toda vodilno liberalno politično glasilo *Jutro* je v njeni zahtevi za samoodločbo videlo le možnost, da Slovenci lahko, kadar želijo, izstopijo iz Jugoslavije oziroma jugoslovanske državne zveze. To je nesprejemljivo. »*Naša SLS je, odkar jo je zapustil dr. Šusteršič, izgubila trezno vodstvo, ki vé, kaj treba v danem trenutku storiti, da se doseže uspeh.*«[42]

SLS se je po volitvah leta 1923 v boju proti centralizmu najprej povezala s Hrvaško republikansko kmečko stranko (HRKS) Stjepana Radića in Jugoslovansko muslimansko organizacijo (JMO) v Federalistični blok, ko ga je vladajoča centralistična velikosrbska Narodno radikalna stranka (NRS) izigrala, pa leta 1924 z JMO in Davidovićevim krilom v vsedržavni DS v Opozicijski blok (Rahten, 2018a, 176–177). Stranke bloka so po političnih zapletih, ki so zaznamovali prvo polovico leta 1924, 27. junija 1924 oblikovale vlado, ki jo je vodil Ljuba Davidović, Korošec pa je postal minister za prosveto. Nova opozicija in dvor sta z različnimi pritiski dosegla, da je vlada 15. oktobra 1924 odstopila, s tem pa so preprečili, da bi, kar

37 *Jutro*, 23. 1. 1926: Ljubljana, 21. januarja, 1.

38 *Kmetijski list*, 9. 2. 1923: Nikdar in nikoli!, 1; 4. 4. 1923: Revizionistični blok, 1; Glej tudi: 16. 2. 1923: Volilna borba, 2; 24. 12. 1924: Mi in Jugoslavija, 2.

39 *Jutro*, 31. 3. 1923: Ljubljana, 30. marca, 1.

40 *Jutro*, 7. 6. 1923: Ljubljana, 6. junija, 1; 1. 2. 1925: Ljubljana, 31. januarja, 1; 3. 2. 1925: Ljubljana, 2. februarja, 1.

41 *Jutro*, 11. 7. 1923: Ljubljana, 10. julija, 1.

42 *Jutro*, 7. 6. 1925: Ljubljana, 6. junija, 1.

je nameravala, začela reševati pereče vprašanje državne ureditve (SNZ, 269–270, 278–279, 280–281; Ratej, 2007). Davidovićevo vlado je ob njenem oblikovanju pozdravila NSS, ki je na podlagi svoje avtonomistične usmeritve verjela v politično utemeljenost njenega nastopa. Ob tem so se v *Novi pravdi* z zanimivim poudarkom ustavili ob Korošcu. Označili so ga za iskrenega Jugoslovana in velikega moža. »*Ni nas sram tega priznati, akoravno pravijo, da je dr. Korošec klerikalec. Dr. Korošec bo v tej vladi gotovo pokazal, da nimamo več opravka z nekdanjimi klerikalci, ampak z ljudmi, ki so se že tudi nekaj naučili in ki v drugih državah tudi tvorijo jedro vlade in to celo skupno s socialisti, pa se svet zato še ni podrl.*«[43] Nasprotno pa je *Jutro* Davidovićevo vlado po njenem odstopu ocenilo kot »*zadnji poskus za razrešitev našega notranjepolitičnega vprašanja drugače, kakor to predpisuje načelo državnega in narodnega edinstva z vsemi svojimi konsekvencami. Zadnji poskus, ki se je popolnoma ponesrečil, docela propadel!*« Korošec in vsi, ki so begali ljudstvo z državnopravnimi frazami, so za *Jutro* doigrali.[44]

Potem ko je centralistična vlada 1. januarja 1925 udarila po hrvaški federalistični HRKS, razpustila njene organizacije in prepovedala vsako njeno politično delo, člane vodstva stranke pa so aretirali, je *Jutro* z zadovoljstvom ugotavljalo, da je Koroščev širši in ožji krog avtonomistov, federalistov in separatistov vsak dan manjši. »*Dr. Korošec je vse zavozil, vse nade SLS uničil. Kdor bo še sledil njemu, bo sledil skrahiranemu generalu v svojo lastno pogubo.*«[45] Za avtonomistično-federalistično politiko je bil udarec režima v resnici boleč, saj so s tem onemogočili vsako dejavnost najmočnejše federalistične sile v državi za volitve v Narodno skupščino 8. februarja 1925. Kljub temu pa je Radićeva HRKS, ki je na volitvah lahko sodelovala, znova postala druga najmočnejša politična sila v državi in se je konec februarja 1925 z Davidovićevo DS, SLS in JMO povezala v Blok narodnega sporazuma in kmečke (ljudske) demokracije. Ta je zahteval enakopravnost Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev, ki naj bi jo dosegli z revizijo centralistične Vidovdanske ustave na podlagi samouprave občin in višjih upravnih enot do parlamenta. Toda spomladi 1925 je Radić, ki je bil od 5. januarja v zaporu, v celoti popustil centralistični politiki in se odrekel strankinim federalističnim in drugim političnim ciljem. Blok jugoslovanskih avtonomistično-federalističnih sil so razbili. 18. julija 1925 so oblikovali skupno vlado NRS in Hrvaške kmečke stranke (Radić se je odrekel tudi republikanski usmeritvi, zato so iz strankinega imena izpustili »republikanska«), avtonomistična politika SLS in njeni napori pa so se izjalovili (SNZ, 282–285). Ob oblikovanju vlade R–R (Radić–radikali) je *Jutro* ponovno opozorilo na neuspeh Koroščeve politike: »*Klerikalna politika dr. Korošca, ki se je toliko trudil, da bi s pomočjo Hrvatov skuhal svojo avtonomistično juho, je doživela torej popoln polom.*«[46]

---

43 *Nova pravda*, 2. 8. 1924: Politični pregled: dolgotrajna kriza rešena, 1.
44 Jutro, 20. 1. 1925: Ljubljana, 19. januarja, 1.
45 *Jutro*, 4. 1. 1925: Ljubljana, 3. januarja, 1. O ukrepih proti HRKS: SNZ, 282.
46 *Jutro*, 15. 7. 1925: Razočarani klerikalci, 2.

V novo nastalem položaju je v jugoslovanski politiki le SLS še zagovarjala avtonomistično preureditev države, saj sta si po nastopu vlade R–R Davidovićeva DS in JMO prenehali aktivno prizadevati za spremembo državne ureditve. SLS je spoznala, da tako široka avtonomija kot jo je začrtal program stranke, v jugoslovanski politični realnosti ni izvedljiva. Stranka je v tistem času svojo avtonomistično usmeritev sicer poskusila okrepiti s pozivom na oblikovanje enotne slovenske fronte, ki bi jo za dosego temeljnih življenjskih pogojev in enakopravnosti slovenskega naroda v državi v sporazumu in dogovoru z edino legitimno slovensko zastopnico – SLS tvorile tudi stranke izven nje. To bi bila njihova prava slovenska naloga in domoljubna dolžnost, ne da bi »*majhne stranke ob tej priliki lezle po našem hrbtu kvišku in v ospredje*«. Take pozive je sredi dvajsetih let na več shodih SLS izrekel Korošec.[47]

Samostojna demokratska stranka se v svojem doslednem odklonilnem odnosu do SLS ob Koroščevih pozivih, razen z opozorilom naj se o demokratih zmerneje izraža in ne govori žaljivo o njihovi jugoslovanski zavesti, sploh ni ustavljala.[48] Več pozornosti so jim namenili NSS in liberalni kmetijci. NSS je izjavila, da je sodelovanje v slovenski fronti po Koroščevem diktatorskem stališču nemogoče, saj se »*tako enostavno poklerikalizirati se gotovo ne bo dala slovenska napredna* [liberalna] *politika*«. Korošec naj raje pove, da se prave slovenske fronte v resnici boji, ker bi potem obledela teza njegove stranke, da je slovenska fronta utelešena že v njej.[49] Fronto želi ustanoviti samo zato, da bi v Sloveniji imel absolutno oblast. Liberalne stranke ne bodo stopile v službo SLS in tudi noben Slovenec izven njenih vrst ne bo pod krinko slovenstva podpiral političnega katolicizma.[50] Podobno so se odzvali tudi liberalni kmetijci. Koroščeve pobude so razumeli kot težnjo po njegovem vseslovenskem vodstvu, ki ga ne priznavajo. Posebej so še poudarili, da SLS »*ni ‚legitimna zastopnica slovenskega naroda', ker je v Sloveniji tudi še nekaj drugih ljudi in političnih strank, ki so tudi člani slovenskega naroda*«.[51]

SLS se je v iskanju poti za svojo nadaljnjo narodno politiko in v želji da njena avtonomistična misel ne bi ostala zgolj mrtva črka na papirju, jeseni 1926 razumno odločila svoj avtonomistični program – ne da bi ga ob tem zatajila – »*na drug način spraviti do veljave*«. Tako je strankino narodnopolitično preusmeritev konec novembra 1926 in v začetku januarja 1927 pojasnjeval Korošec. Po njegovih besedah je šlo za vprašanje načina in taktike, kako uresničiti strankin programski ideal. Po preudarku SLS je bila edina možna pot, da bi ga lahko vsaj delno uresničili, vzpostavitev òblastnih samouprav, ki jih je za posamezne òblasti, upravno-ozemeljske enote na katere je bila razdeljena Kraljevina SHS (v Sloveniji

47 *Slovenec*, 22. 9. 1925: Veličasten zbor zaupnikov SLS v Mariboru, 1; 30. 9. 1925: Stališče Slovenske ljudske stranke v sedanjem položaju, 1; 10. 8. 1926: Shod SLS v Trebnjem, 1; 5. 10. 1926: Veličasten shod dr. Korošca v Brežicah, 1.

48 *Jutro*, 25. 9. 1925: SLS v mučni krizi, 2; 1. 10. 1925: Politične beležke: gospod Korošec daje svoje govore, 2.

49 *Nova pravda*, 3. 10. 1925: Politični pregled: slovenska fronta, 1.

50 *Nova pravda*, 10. 10. 1925: Politični pregled: slovenska fronta, 1; 17. 10. 1925: Slovenski problem, 1.

51 *Kmetski list*, 18. 8. 1926: Odgovor dr. Korošcu, 3–4; 6. 10. 1926: Razne politične vesti: slovenska narodna fronta, 4.

so oblikovali ljubljansko in mariborsko òblast), predvidela že Vidovdanska ustava (SNZ, 290–291). *Jutro* je strankino preusmeritev imelo za »*priznanje izgubljene vere v silo in uspeh lastnega programa in dela*«, za Koroščevo priznanje »*krivde na nesrečah in neuspehih, ki sta jih prizadejala on in njegova stranka slovenskemu ljudstvu z usodno dobo avtonomistične politike ‚suhih let'*«.[52] Ob tem so mu očitali, da je s svojim ravnanjem v prvih jugoslovanskih vladah postal »oče« davčnega vijaka v Sloveniji.[53] V državi bi bilo vse drugače, če radićevci in SLS ne bi uganjali svojih avtonomističnih političnih neumnosti. »*Glavni vzrok neuspeha politike SLS je notorična nesposobnost njenih voditeljev*«,[54] toda SLS in Korošec ne dovolita, da bi se Slovenci umirili vsaj v državnopravnem pogledu.[55] Z avtonomijo pojde prej ali slej v grob tudi SLS, saj je z njo izgubila svoj *raison d'être*.[56] Pri tem je *Jutro*, da bi spodneslo njeno politično veljavo, SLS celo očitalo opustitev avtonomističnega programa, ki ga je sicer demokratska unitarnocentralistična politika vztrajno pobijala.[57] »*Avtonomija je le še za hribovske zaostaleže*«.[58] Odločitev za uresničevanje avtonomističnih ciljev v okviru òblastnih samouprav pa ni prinesla konca SLS. Kot absolutna zmagovalka òblastnih volitev 23. januarja 1927 je v času vodenja òblastnih samouprav v letih 1927–1929 uspela, da so Slovenci, zlasti na gospodarskosocialnem področju, veliko pomembnih zadev znatno upravljali sami (Stiplovšek, 2000, 106–302, 325–331).

Poleg avtonomistične politike so demokrati Korošcu zamerili tudi kritične besede o Srbih. »*Neštetokrat smo že povdarjali, da grdenje in psovanje Srbov niti najmanj ne more koristiti Slovencem*«, je poudarilo *Jutro*. To dokazuje klavrno stanje, v katerega je Slovence pognala njegova srbofobna politika, ki naj bi jo izražale tudi avtonomistične zahteve SLS. Za Slovence je ta politika toliko bolj usodna, ker je splošno znano, da se SLS ne zavzema za čiste slovenske interese, pač pa se za njo skrivajo interesi Vatikana, ki izrablja Slovence za boj proti lastni državi in njeni utrditvi. *Jutro* je k temu dodalo, da »*klerikalizem narodnega bratstva ne pozna; tudi ne pozna slovenskega bratstva, niti krvnega bratstva po rodu. Klerikalcu je brat samo oni, ki je brezpogojni sluga Rima ali pa vsaj slepi privrženec kolovodij slovenskega klerikalizma. Slovenskemu klerikalcu so celo nemški in italijanski klerikalci bližji nego slovenski liberalci.*«[59]

Za liberalce je bila torej SLS klerikalna stranka in o tem s Korošcem niso bili pripravljeni razpravljati. Na podlagi svojega kulturnobojnega prepričanja so trdili, da je vsako dejanje SLS, »*vsak njen mig, vsaka tiskana beseda, vsak korak duhovščine s Korošcem vred zavisen od dovoljenja škofa, ker je cerkvena organizacija v stvari*

52 *Jutro*, 16. 11. 1926: Ljubljana, 15. novembra, 1. Prim. 5. 1. 1927: Ljubljana, 4. januarja, 1.
53 *Jutro*, 23. 1. 1927: Dr. Korošec oče, SLS mati davčnega vijaka v Sloveniji, 2.
54 *Jutro*, 14. 11. 1926: Ljubljana, 13. novembra, 1. Prim. 5. 1. 1927: Ljubljana, 4. januarja, 1.
55 *Jutro*, 30. 11. 1926: Nepoboljšljivi dr. Korošec, 2.
56 *Jutro*, 5. 1. 1927: Ljubljana, 4. januarja, 1.
57 *Jutro*, 4. 2. 1927: Ljubljana, 3. februarja, 1.
58 *Jutro*, 5. 1. 1927: Ljubljana, 4. januarja, 1.
59 *Jutro*, 3. 1. 1926: Ljubljana, 2. januarja, 1.

identična s politično organizacijo SLS. Škofu [je] *treba samo pozvoniti in cela SLS je v drobnih koscih, to ve pri nas vsaka fajmoštrova kuharica in je le žaljivo, da g. Korošec slovenskim kmetom take stvari zanika.*«[60]

DVAJSETA LETA

Kot smo videli, je bil Korošec za liberalce v celoti *klerikalni* politik, voditelj »*črne reakcije*«.[61] V SDS so zato njegovo postavitev za prosvetnega ministra leta 1924 imeli za izzivanje jugoslovanske nacionalne misli, ki bi jo bilo potrebno posebej uveljavljati prav na tem področju, Korošec pa je skušal jugoslovansko nacionalno politiko zamenjati s separatistično, klerikalno.[62] Po preteku funkcije so mu očitali, da je bil najkrutejši preganjalec uradništva in učiteljstva. Razmetaval je državni denar za katoliške privatne šole in vse učiteljice na samostanskih šolah so dobile državne plače. Ko je Svetozar Pribićević, vodja unitaristične Samostojne demokratske stranke, ki so ji pripadali slovenski unitaristični liberalci, na mestu prosvetnega ministra zamenjal Korošca, je *Jutro* z zadovoljstvom zapisalo, da so njegove ukrepe odpravili.[63] Strankarsko ravnanje na položaju prosvetnega ministra je Korošcu očitala tudi SKS.[64]

Verjetno še hujši udarec liberalni in svobodomiselni strani pa je Korošec zadal leta 1925, ko so ga v tradicionalno liberalni Ljubljani 8. februarja izvolili za poslanca v Narodni skupščini Kraljevine SHS. »*Ali je mogoče, da je zmagal v glavnem mestu Slovenije glavar reakcije?*«, se je spraševal pripadnik SDS in predsednik ljubljanskega gerentskega sveta dr. Dinko Puc. »*Ali je mogoče, da je ljubljansko mesto izbralo si za predstavnika v skupščini pristaša stranke, ki je bila in je še največja nasprotnica njegova?* [...] *Stranke, ki* [...] *ubija svobodno misel in odreka vsakomur pravico svobodnega mišljenja?*« Neenotnost inteligence in gospodarskih krogov ter brezbrižnost »boljših« slojev je povzročila poraz, je ugotavljal Puc. Pod »*plaščem rimskega jezuita*« se je zbrala družba brez enotne vodilne ideje, brez določenega programa, samo zato, ker se je v javnem življenju uveljavilo geslo, da je pravzaprav vseeno, kaj voliš, s kom greš, glavno je, da greš s tistim, »*ki dobro in dosledno zabavlja*«.[65] Liberalna ocena je bila, da do Koroščeve zmage ne bi nikoli prišlo, če bi bile napredne (liberalne) struje enotne.[66] Sicer pa so leta 1925 na liberalni strani za Korošca

60 *Jutro*, 5. 1. 1927: Ljubljana, 4. januarja, 1.

61 *Jutro*, 12. 2. 1925: Prepir za mandate v klerikalni stranki, 2.

62 *Jutro*, 2. 8. 1924: Ljubljana, 1. avgusta, 1; 18. 11. 1925: Ljubljana, 17. novembra, 1.

63 *Jutro*, 4. 7. 1925: Ljubljana, 3. julija, 1; 1. 6. 1926: Ljubljana, 31. maja, 1. Prim. 20. 1. 1925: Ljubljana, 19. januarja, 1. O Koroščevem premeščanju liberalno usmerjenih učiteljev: Dolenc, 1996, 196–198. O premestitvah in upokojitvah učiteljev, ki so jih nato na podlagi politične pripadnosti izvajali v času, ko je bil prosvetni minister Pribićević: Dolenc, 1996, 199–200, 205, 211.

64 *Kmetijski list*, 17. 12. 1924: K zadnjim dogodkom na naših vseučiliščih, 3.

65 *Jutro*, 10. 2. 1925: Naši kraji in ljudje: Dinko Puc, K ljubljanskim volitvam, 3.

66 *Jutro*, 21. 1. 1927: Pred odločilno bitko v Ljubljani, 2.

našli dobro besedo ob njegovem znanem predavanju o nastanku Jugoslavije 16. oktobra 1925 v Ljudskem domu v Ljubljani, dobi »*iz njegovih najslavnejših dni*«.[67]

Novo priložnost za kritične besede o Korošcu je *Jutro* dobilo, ko je SLS, da bi zagotovila čim bolj uspešno izvajanje òblastne samouprave, 1. februarja 1927 stopila v koalicijsko vlado z NRS. Vlado je vodil radikal Nikola Uzunović. Koroščeva odločitev za sodelovanje z NRS je za *Jutro* pomenila, da je SLS postala dekla radikalov.[68] Tudi na znani Blejski sporazum oziroma pakt prijateljstva, ki sta ga 11. julija 1927 na Bledu sklenila novi predsednik vlade radikal Velja Vukićević in Korošec, se je vsula ostra liberalna politična kritika. SLS, ki tedaj ni bila v vladi, si je z Blejskim sporazumom vanjo zagotovila vrnitev (do tega je prišlo deset dni po njeni ponovni absolutni zmagi na skupščinskih volitvah 11. septembra 1927), na liberalni strani in v slovenski politiki pa so ji ob sklenitvi sporazuma očitali, da je s tem stopila v »velesrbski objem« in še enkrat zatajila svoja prizadevanja za avtonomijo.[69] Dejansko pa je kot vladna stranka nadaljevala svoje delo za čim bolj samostojen slovenski gospodarskosocialni in kulturnoprosvetni razvoj v okviru òblastnih samouprav.

Poleti 1927 so na liberalni strani Korošcu še oporekali, da o zunanji politiki in mednarodnem položaju Kraljevine SHS govori v imenu Slovencev. To so izrekli po njegovem govoru na Ptuju 21. avgusta 1927, v katerem je opozoril na ključna zunanjepolitična vprašanja jugoslovanske države (Perovšek, 2018b, 146–147). Do naslednjega hudega očitka je prišlo ob rekonstrukciji Vukićevićeve vlade 23. februarja 1928. Ko je vanjo kot minister za notranje zadeve vstopil tudi Korošec, je *Jutro* SLS zaradi njegove ministrske funkcije označilo »*za poslušen privesek velesrbijanske policijske radikalije*«.[70] Liberalni kmetijci pa so zapisali, da je njen vodja Korošec zlezel »*kot pišče lepo pod radikalno stranko, vesel, da se sme on sam greti pod njo, a nam* [kmetom] *pomaga vleči kožo z živega mesa*«.[71] »*Današnji nosilec policajskega pendreka*«,[72] nekdanji kaplan Anton Korošec, »*ne vodi več politike slovenskega naroda, ampak je srbski radikal, ki izroča v izkoriščanju beograjski porodici* [kraljevskemu dvoru] *ne samo slovenskega, ampak kmete cele države. Kot dober duhovnik bi moral prevzeti ministrstvo ver, ne pa policijskega.*«[73] Nadvse ostro so ga tudi obtoževali, ker da zagovarja policijski zapor v Beogradu, t. i. beograjsko glavnjačo, »*kjer se nedolžne ljudi, ki nočejo biti radikali, muči kot*

67 *Jutro*, 17. 20. 1925: Domače vesti: iz Ljubljane: predavanje dr. Korošca, 4. O predavanju: Kranjec, 1962.

68 *Jutro*, 4. 2. 1927: Ljubljana, 3. februarja, 1.

69 *Kmetski list*, 13. 7. 1927: Programatični volilni govor dr. A. Korošca, 1; 13. 7. 1927: Popolna kapitulacija dr. Korošca in SLS, 4; 20. 7. 1927: Pokvarjena gospoda proti kmetom!, 2. Prim. *Jutro*, 27. 7. 1928: Ljubljana, 26. julija, 1; *Kmetski list*, 26. 10. 1927: Po potrditvi mandatov, 1; 23. 11. 1927: Seja ljubljanskega okrožnega odbora Slovenske kmečke stranke, 2; 28. 3. 1928: Samo lepe reči, 1.

70 *Jutro*, 24. 2. 1928: Bilanca tritedenske krize, 1. O Korošcu kot notranjem ministru: Ratej, 2009.

71 *Kmetski list*, 7. 3. 1928: Dopisi: iz Prevalj, 4.

72 *Kmetski list*, 28. 3. 1928: Samo lepe reči, 1.

73 *Kmetski list*, 14. 3. 1928: Dopisi: Pilštajn: minil je misijon, 3.



Slika 1: Jutrova obtožujoča karikatura Korošca (Jutro, 6. 7. 1928, 3).

kristjane v starem veku in kjer se z mladimi dekleti in ženami postopa tako, kakor so nekdaj Turki, ko so vdrli v naše kraje, ravnali s krščanskimi ženami in devicami«.[74] Liberalna stran je na Korošca naslovila tudi hude očitke ob brutalnem nastopu policije proti študentom, ki so 29. in 30. maja 1928 v Beogradu demonstrirali zaradi vladne odločitve, da Narodni skupščini v ratifikacijo predloži Nettunske konvencije.[75] Predložili so jih 16. junija 1928. S tem sporazumom, ki sta ga Kraljevina Italija in Kraljevina SHS sklenili 20. julija 1925, je bil Italiji olajšan gospodarski prodor na jugoslovansko ozemlje.[76]

Položaj ministra za notranje zadeve je bil tudi povod za prvega od dveh najhujših liberalnih političnih napadov na Korošca v Kraljevini SHS/Jugoslaviji. Po strelih v Narodni skupščini, ko je radikalski poslanec Puniša Račić 20. junija 1928 streljal na poslance opozicijske HKS, dva med njimi ubil ter ranil hrvaškega narodnega voditelja in prvaka HKS Stjepana Radića, ki je zaradi dobljenih ran 8. avgusta 1928 umrl, so na liberalni strani Korošca napadli, ker ni podal ostavke in s tem razbremenil SLS politične odgovornosti za storjeni zločin.[77] Poudarili so, da ugled Jugoslavije nikoli ni padel globlje kot leta 1928, ko je notranji minister Anton Korošec.[78] Mnogo se je pisalo o napakah nekdanjega avtoritarnega načelnika SLS Ivana Šusteršiča je opozarjalo *Jutro*, a moderna SLS je z 20. junijem nadkrilila vse, kar se je pod njim dogajalo.[79] 6. julija 1928 je objavilo obtožujočo karikaturo, ki je Korošca prikazovala oblečenega v okrvavljeno obredno duhovniško oblačilo, z žandarsko kapo na glavi in z dvignjeno krvavo gumijevko v desnici nad sklonjeno Kristusovo podobo. Pod sliko je bil podnapis: »*Sin božji je trpel za druge in krvavel pod trnjevo krono. To je bilo v Judeji. V Jugoslaviji pa drugi trpe zaradi namestnika božjega, ki krvavi od policijskega pendreka.*«[80] SLS se je na neprimerno karikaturo ostro odzvala. Pozvala je na javni bojkot *Jutra* in ga glede na svoj tedanji oblastni položaj v Sloveniji odstranila iz uradnih prostorov òblastnih samouprav. Obe samoupravi sta v *Jutru* prenehali objavljati svoje razglase. Na Štajerskem so še izvajali akcijo za zmanjšanje njegovih naročnikov, da bi ga gospodarsko prizadeli (Stiplovšek, 2000, 240–245).

Boj proti *Jutru* se je polegel jeseni. List je tedaj Korošcu in SLS zagotovil, da se varata, če mislita, »*da je pozabljena ona divja gonja zoper naše liste in vse napredne ljudi, ki jo je vesoljno klerikalstvo vzdignilo pred dvema mesecema. Na strnjeni pohod proti našemu listu so bila pozvana vsa klerikalna društva,*

74 *Kmetski list*, 14. 3. 1928: Novice in razno: red in zakonitost v upravi, 4.

75 *Jutro*, 30. 5. 1928: Naši kraji in ljudje: juriš Koroščeve policije po Beogradu, 3; 31. 5. 1928: Voditelj SLS kot veliki inkvizitor omladine, 2; 1. 6. 1928: Brezobzirna ataka orožništva na Akademski dom v Beogradu, 6; *Kmetski list*, 6. 6. 1928: Krvavi Korošec, 1; 11. 7. 1928: Politične vesti: in izrekel je obsodbo, 6.

76 O Koroščevem ravnanju glede Nettunskih konvencij: Ratej, 2005.

77 *Jutro*, 1. 7. 1928: Ljubljana, 30. junija, 1; *Kmetski list*, 1. 8. 1928: Nova vlada, 1; 1. 8. 1928: Pomen in značaj nove vlade, 2; prim. 11. 7. 1928: Politične vesti: in izrekel je obsodbo, 6.

78 *Jutro*, 27. 6. 1928: Ljubljana, 26. junija, 1.

79 *Jutro*, 29. 12. 1928: Ljubljana, 28. decembra, 1.

80 *Jutro*, 6. 7. 1928, 3.

telovadna, kulturna in cerkvena, moška in ženska. Gonji so se z odlično vnemo pridružile klerikalne občine ter odbora obeh slovenskih oblasti, angažirano je bilo vse, kar leze in gre, za uspešen bojkot proti naprednemu časopisju in njegovim naročnikom.« Družbeni in gospodarski bojkot *Jutra* ni uspel, »*četudi so pripravili in do najmanjše podrobnosti izvedli grandiozni načrt, kako bi se za vselej zavil vrat neljubemu naprednemu tisku*«.[81]

Skupščinski atentat je povzročil hudo notranjo krizo države. Vukićevićeva vlada je bila prisiljena odstopiti, Korošcu pa je kralj po neuspelih predhodnih političnih kombinacijah ponudil mandat za sestavo nove vlade. Korošec ga je sprejel in 27. julija 1928 sestavil novo koalicijsko vlado, v kateri je poleg predsedniškega položaja prevzel tudi položaj ministra za notranje zadeve. Postal je prvi nesrbski predsednik vlade v zgodovini jugoslovanske države (SNZ, 315).

Na liberalni strani so se na najvišjo Koroščevo državniško funkcijo ostro odzvali. Prednjačilo je *Jutro*, ki je ob tem, ko je dobil mandat za sestavo vlade, izjavilo, da bi v normalnih razmerah tudi političnemu nasprotniku, to je Korošcu, priznali njegov uspeh. Ta bi bil laskav za Slovence. Vendar »*Korošca do mandata ni dovedla niti njegova moralna, niti intelektualna sposobnost in ne slučajna sposobnost njegove stranke. Dovedla ga ni na to mesto nobena pozitivna smer v državni politiki, marveč edino taktična poteza hegemonistične klike, da na čelu vlade, ki ima voditi ostro borbo s Hrvatstvom, ne stoji Srbijanec, ampak prečan, Slovenec, katoliški duhovnik. To je ves ideal hegemonistov in ne morda kaka konstruktivna ideja. In za ta račun je bil zanje dr. Korošec dosti slab, oziroma dosti dober …*«[82] Podobne poudarke so zapisali tudi v *Kmetskem listu*.[83] Po liberalni presoji naj bi Korošcu predsedniško mesto v resnici podarili. Kot je zapisal vidni liberalni kmetijec dr. Igor Rosina, je bil to »*zadnji poskus umirajočega Velesrbijanstva, s pomočjo poštenega slovenskega imena gaziti še dalje vse najprimarnejše zahteve vsega Slovenstva in Hrvatstva po enakosti in reviziji do kosti koruptne in nesposobne srbijanske administracije*«. Rabijo namreč naše doslej neokrnjeno, pošteno slovensko ime, slovenski kulturni prestiž, slovensko čast, da jo – kupljeno – lahko kažejo svetu. Korošec je prodal čast svojega naroda, kar je izdajalsko. »*Doslej ni drugega videti, kakor v današnjih razmerah več kakor dvomljiva(o) čast slovenskega ministrskega predsedništva.*«[84]

Liberalna politika Koroščevi vladi že ob njenem oblikovanju ni pripisovala dolgega trajanja.[85] Imela jo je za eno največjih napak, storjenih nad jugoslovansko državnostjo, Korošca pa za nesposobnega, za izključno političnega človeka brez globljega upravnega in gospodarskega znanja ter ustvarjalnih ter organizacijskih

81 *Jutro*, 18. 9. 1928: Ljubljana, 17. septembra, 1.
82 *Jutro*, 27. 7. 1928: Ljubljana, 26. julija, 1.
83 *Kmetski list*, 1. 8. 1928: Pomen in značaj nove vlade, 2.
84 *Kmetski list*, 22. 8. 1928: Slovenstvo v vladi, 1.
85 *Jutro*, 28. 7. 1928: Ljubljana, 27. julija, 1.

kvalitet.[86] Zanjo je bil le spreten postavljač in pri tem cinično lagoden, »*da ne govorimo o podrobnem delu. Mnoge akcije se razbijejo često na njegovi zavidanja vredni brezbrižnosti.*«[87] Zelo so mu zamerili ratifikacijo Nettunskih konvencij, ki jo je vladna skupščinska večina izglasovala 13. avgusta 1928. Slovence pri tem preveva še posebej trpek občutek in bridko spoznanje, »*da je moral priti ravno Slovenec na predsedniško mesto, da je s pomočjo svoje stranke opravil rabeljski posel nad našim Primorjem*«, je opomnilo *Jutro*.[88] Medtem se je politična kriza v državi poglabljala in ko je dosegla tudi vladno koalicijo, je Korošec 30. decembra 1928 odstopil. Njegov odstop je vzbudil zadoščenje liberalne politike.[89] *Kmetski list* je zapisal, da je najbolj sramotno vlogo v Koroščevi vladi imela politika SLS, »*ki se je prodajala, kot pocestna vlačuga beograjskim cincarjem*«.[90]

TRIDESETA LETA

Korošec je ostal v jugoslovanskem političnem vrhu tudi po svojem odstopu in uvedbi osebne diktature kralja Aleksandra 6. januarja 1929. V vladi generala Petra Živkovića je prevzel mesto ministra za promet, kasneje pa mesto ministra za gozdove in rudnike. Ob tem se na liberalni strani niso ustavljali. Ko je 28. septembra 1930 zaradi t. i. zdravstvenih razlogov iz vlade izstopil (prim. SNZ, 339; Godeša & Dolenc, 1999, 70–75; Stiplovšek, 2006, 59; Gašparič, 2007, 96–97, 107–111), katoliško stran pa je v vladi od tedaj predstavljal inž. Dušan Sernec, je *Jutro* njegov odstop predstavilo kot konec njegove politične poti. Zapisalo je, da Korošec s tem zapušča »*politično poprišče ter se umika v zatišje, ki mu bo omogočilo, da vso pažnjo posveti svojemu zdravju*«. *Jutro* je iz njegovega odstopnega pisma kralju opozorilo na poudarek o želji po prizadevanju za jugoslovansko nacionalno in državno misel v slogi z drugimi rodoljubi, ki bo zanesljivo vplivala na vse, ki so mu sledili kot strankinemu voditelju. »*Vsi oni pa, ki so v preteklosti imeli z g. Koroščem marsikatero hudo borbo, mu ob slovesu hvaležno stiskajo roko za lepe besede* [...] *ter verujejo, da so bile izrečene iz iskrenega srca kot primer za vsakogar in svarilo vsakomur pred atavizmom nepoboljšljivih partizanov* [strankarjev].«[91]

Čeprav bi prenehanje Koroščevega političnega delovanja liberalcem gotovo ustrezalo, njihove besede o domnevnem Koroščevem političnem odhodu niso vzdržale. Narodno manifestativna in množična, izrazito protirežimska, proticentralistična in protiunitaristična proslava njegove šestdesetletnice v unionski dvorani 8. maja 1932 v Ljubljani (obhajal jo je 12. maja), je zgovorno opozorila

86 *Jutro*, 5. 10. 1928: Ljubljana, 4. oktobra, 1; 30. 12. 1928: Ljubljana, 29. decembra, 1; 21. 10. 1928: Ljubljana, 20. oktobra, 1.
87 *Jutro*, 5. 10. 1928: Ljubljana, 4. oktobra, 1; 21. 10. 1928: Ljubljana, 20. oktobra, 1.
88 *Jutro*, 15. 8. 1928: Ljubljana, 14. avgusta, 1.
89 *Jutro*, 1. 1. 1929: Otvoritev krize, 2.
90 *Kmetski list*, 2. 1. 1929: Politične vesti: dr. Korošec podal ostavko krvave vlade, 4.
91 *Jutro*, 30. 9. 1930: Ob odstopu g. dr. Korošca, 2.

na njegovo politično težo. Liberalnega bana Dravske banovine (jugoslovanske Slovenije) dr. Draga Marušiča je navedla k prepovedi vseh nadaljnjih tovrstnih prireditev. *Jutro* je na to opozorilo v kratkem članku, v katerem je poudarilo, da so na proslavi kalili njen »*resnični pomen*«.[92] Že v naslednjem letu pa je prišlo do drugega hudega liberalnega političnega napada na Korošca v jugoslovanski državi.

Vzrok za liberalni in splošni politični napad na Korošca leta 1933 so bile znane Ljubljanske oziroma Koroščeve punktacije, oblikovane 31. decembra 1932. Kot je zagotovil Koroščev tesni sodelavec in urednik glasila SLS *Slovenec* v letih 1929–1942 dr. Ivan Ahčin (Godeša & Dolenc, 1999, 14; Tominšek Perovšek, 2013, 172), je bil Korošec ne le avtor punktacij, ampak je osebno za nje dal vodstvu SLS tudi pobudo (Godeša & Dolenc, 1999, 83). Punktacije so zahtevale oblikovanje samostojne slovenske državnopravne enote v jugoslovanski državi, v katero bi bilo vključeno vse slovensko ozemlje. Slovenskemu narodu mora biti v Jugoslaviji zagotovljena njegova narodna individualnost, narodno ime, njegova zastava, etnična celovitost, razpolaganje z njegovimi lastnimi finančnimi sredstvi, njegova kultura in politična svoboda. Punktacije so zahtevale tudi socialno zakonodajo, ki bo zagotovila harmoničen razvoj vseh socialnih stanov, zlasti kmečkega in delavskega. Uresničitev teh ciljev je mogoča le v svobodnem sporazumu Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov, ki mora na demokratični podlagi preurediti jugoslovansko državo v več enakopravnih enot, ena od njih naj bi bila tudi Slovenija. Poudarjale so še, da želijo Slovenci sodelovati z vsemi političnimi silami, ki stremijo k preureditvi države.[93]

Liberalna politika se je na punktacije odzvala z ognjem in mečem. Skladno s svojim jugoslovanskim unitarističnim stališčem, ki je tedaj v državi imelo odločilno besedo, je izjavljala, da pomenijo slabljenje in razdiranje Jugoslavije, blaznost, Koroščev greh nad narodom in zločin. Korošcu so očitali, da postavlja nemogočo zahtevo, naj se država vrne k svojemu državnopravnemu izhodišču 1. decembra 1918. To je nesprejemljivo, saj so Slovenci že tedaj dokončno rešili vprašanje državne skupnosti s Srbi in Hrvati, ki je lahko le enotna, nedeljena in nedeljiva jugoslovanska celota. Vsako novo pogajanje o jugoslovanski državi, ko Slovenci lahko vsak dan postanejo plen grabežljivih sosedov, je zgodovinska zabloda.[94] Ivan Hribar, ki sicer ni mogel verjeti, da bi Korošec s punktacijami napravil tako nerodnost, je izjavil, da s svojo stranko ogroža svetovni mir. Skupina, ki jo vodi Korošec, je zašla med največje škodljivce slovenskega naroda.[95]

92 *Jutro*, 10. 5. 1932: Prepoved nadaljnjih Koroščevih proslav, 2.

93 NUK, Rokopisna zbirka, 312/1–9, letaki do 1936.

94 *Jutro*, 10. 1. 1933: Separatistične punktacije, 1; 11. 1. 1933: Nihče se ne sme igrati z življenjskimi narodnimi interesi, 1; 13. 1. 1933: Slovenci tostran in onstran mej, 1; 17. 1. 1933: Ogroženo slovenstvo, 1; 20. 1. 1933: Ljubljana je sodila in obsodila, 1. Prim. 8. 1. 1933: Slovenci ogorčeno zavračajo in ostro obsojajo politiko razdiranja, 1; 29. 1. 1933: Separatistične punktacije in narodna meja!, 2.

95 *Jutro*, 8. 1. 1933: Slovenci ogorčeno zavračajo in ostro obsojajo politiko razdiranja, 1.

Na liberalni strani so tudi poudarili, da Korošec, »*veliki mojster punktatorjev*«,[96] sedaj zanika stvari, ki jih je sam pomagal ustvarjati.[97] To dela mož, ki je bil med prvimi borci za jugoslovansko idejo, politik, ki je v vseh političnih zapletih v imenu Slovencev igral odločilno vlogo v državi, voditelj stranke, ki je uravnavala odnos med Slovenci in Jugoslavijo, človek, ki je bil med podporniki šestojanuarskega režima. Njegove punktacije se vračajo v čas narodnega kaosa. Odpirajo »*pogled v moralično brezdno in politične vrtince. Igra, ki se tu igra, pa je zločinska, ker je to igra za glavo in dušo slovenskega ljudstva*«. Tistega, ki bi decembra 1918 takratnemu podpredsedniku jugoslovanske vlade in nekdanjemu predsedniku Narodnega Vijeća Korošcu postavil vprašanje, pod katerimi pogoji in ali je sploh mogoče sožitje Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov, bi ta dal ali zapreti v blaznico, ali bi ga kaznoval z oboroženo pestjo, ali pa bi ga dal ustreliti sredi Ljubljane, je zatrdilo *Jutro*.[98] Koroščevo ravnanje je *Jutro* začudilo, saj velja za spretnega taktika, treznega in previdnega politika ter preudarnega računarja, »*katerega strankarsko-politično strategijo so občudovali Srbi, čeprav imajo sami lepo galerijo velikih politikov in državnikov*«. Najbrž so dolga leta političnih uspehov, doseženih s spretno taktiko in brezobzirno politiko, koroščevce privedla do tako blaznega dejanja kot ga predstavljajo njihove separatistične punktacje. Izdelek iz njihove »*temne kovačnice*«,[99] ljubljanske čarovniške kuhinje,[100] pa govori tudi o povsem določenem razumevanju politične in kulturne svobode punktaške strani. Resnična je tista, »*ki bi bila identična z diktaturo klerikalizma v vsem javnem življenju. Razumljivo je*«, je pristavilo *Jutro*, »*da se jim toži po tej ‚svobodi', ki so jo po svoje krojili Slovencem dve generaciji, tako da se jim zdaj resnična kulturna in politična svoboda zdi huda krivica.*«[101]

Obsodba punktacij je zaznamovala liberalno politično misel skoraj ves januar 1933 (prim. Godeša & Dolenc, 1999, 86–87). Ko so 27. oziroma 28. januarja 1933 zaradi punktacij konfinirali Korošca in vodstveno jedro slovenskega katoliškega gibanja, pa temu na liberalni strani niso posvetili posebne pozornosti. *Jutro* je o njihovi konfinaciji objavilo krajšo notico, enako pa je krajšo notico namenilo novici, ko so jo 21. oktobra 1934 preklicali.[102]

Do srede tridesetih let so se ob Korošcu opazneje ustavili februarja 1935, ko je *Jutro* objavilo faksimile njegovega lastnoročnega podpisanega pisma z dne 31. januarja 1935, ki ga je poslal mnogim slovenskim županom kot volivcem v Senat Kraljevine Jugoslavije. V njem jih je prosil naj na volitvah, ki so bile 3. februarja 1935, glasujejo za katoliškega kandidata Franca Žebota. V pismu jim je zagotovil, da jih »*raditega nihče ne bo smel klicati na odgovor, pač pa bomo v bodoče mi o*

96 *Jutro*, 20. 1. 1933: Odmev punktacij v inozemstvu, 1.
97 *Jutro*, 8. 1. 1933: Slovenci ogorčeno zavračajo in ostro obsojajo politiko razdiranja, 1.
98 *Jutro*, 15. 1. 1933: Dr. Anton Korošec, 1.
99 *Jutro*, 22. 1. 1933: Izjalovljeni računi punktašev, 1. Prim. 20. 1. 1933: Odmev punktacij v inozemstvu, 1.
100 *Jutro*, 19. 1. 1933: Zgovorni molk dr. Korošca, 2.
101 *Jutro*, 12. 1. 1933: Punktaši in njihovi predlogi, 1.
102 *Jutro*, 31. 1. 1933: Konfinirani bivši voditelji nekdanje SLS, 1; *Jutro: ponedeljska izdaja*, 22. 10. 1934: Dr. Korošec izpuščen, 2.

tem vodili račun – ne v Vašo škodo!«[103] Žebota niso izvolili, pač pa so v Senat prišli pripadniki liberalne strani.[104] *Jutro* se je nad Koroščem zgražalo in poudarilo, da je njegovo »*kratko pismo dokument k zgodovini politične morale pri nas in težko bi našli v enem stavku tako zgoščeno označeno metodo politične taktike, kakor je konkretizirana v besedah nekdanjega predsednika vlade, moža, ki tudi danes še hoče veljati za enega glavnih nosilcev načelne politične orientacije v Jugoslaviji*«.[105]

Leto 1935 je sovpadalo tudi s spremembo v razmerju politične moči med katoliško in liberalno stranjo. V letih 1931–1935 je pripadala liberalni, nato pa katoliški strani. V drugi polovici tridesetih let je bil Korošec ponovno najmočnejši slovenski politik in med ključnimi odločevalci v jugoslovanski državi (Rahten, 2018b, 852–878). To se je čutilo tudi v odnosu, ki ga je do njega zavzel čedalje šibkejši liberalni tabor. Liberalna politika se je pred njim umaknila.

Poslej so zgolj beležili njegovo politično dejavnost, ocenjevali pa je niso. Poročali so o njegovem novem ministrskem položaju v vladi dr. Milana Stojadinovića, oblikovani 24. junija 1935, v kateri je prevzel položaja ministra za notranje zadeve, vključitvi slovenske katoliške politike in Korošca v novo vsedržavno stranko Jugoslovansko radikalno skupnost 19. avgusta 1935 in o njegovih pomembnih političnih izjavah v času prve Stojadinovićeve vlade.[106] Zgolj zabeležili so tudi konec njegove ministrske funkcije 21. decembra 1938 in se niso ustavili ob tem, da so ga pri oblikovanju druge Stojadinovićeve vlade obšli.[107] Prav tako so ostali zgolj pri navedbi, da so ga 16. januarja 1939 izvolili za predsednika Senata Kraljevine Jugoslavije, kratkem opisu izročitve diplome častnega ljubljanskega meščanstva 20. februarja 1939, in omembi njegove promocije za častnega doktorja prava Aleksandrove univerze v Ljubljani 17. decembra 1939.[108] Enako je bilo ob njegovem odmevnem protikomunističnem govoru na študijskem dnevu Akademske zveze 7. marca 1940 v Ljubljani. *Jutro* je zgolj povzelo njegove glavne poudarke. Dodalo pa je, da je katoliški opoldnevnik *Slovenski dom* v svojem poročilu o Koroščevem govoru pripisal, da ga v Beogradu imajo za enega od njegovih najmočnejših govorov v zadnjem času.[109] Liberalna stran je tudi le zabeležila Koroščev prevzem položaja prosvetnega ministra 29. junija 1940 in povzela glavne poudarke iz izjave, ki jo je podal ob tej priložnosti.[110]

---

103 *Jutro*, 5. 2. 1935: »Ne bo v Vašo škodo …«, 2.

104 *Jutro: ponedeljska izdaja*, 4. 2. 1935: Poraz zadnjih ostankov klerikalne vojske, 1; 4. 2. 1935: Kako so lovili in volili, 1–2. Glej tudi: *Ponedeljski Slovenec*, 4. 2. 1935: Nadomestne volitve v senat, 1.

105 *Jutro*, 5. 2. 1935: »Ne bo v Vašo škodo …«, 2.

106 *Jutro*, 25. 6. 1935: Vlada dr. Stojadinovića in dr. Korošca, 1; 25. 6. 1935: Kako je bila nova vlada včeraj sestavljena, 1; 21. 8. 1935: Iz programa Radikalske zajednice, 2; 7. 3. 1936: O naši notranji politiki, 2; 3. 1, 1937: Novoletni radijski govor ministra dr. Korošca, 2.

107 *Jutro*, 22. 12. 1938: Nova vlada dr. Stojadinovića, 1.

108 *Jutro*, 17. 1. 1939: Kratka seja senata, 1; 21. 2, 1939: Beležke, 2; *Jutro: ponedeljska izdaja*, 18. 12. 1939: Proslava dvajsetletnice ljubljanske univerze, 2.

109 *Jutro*, 9. 3. 1940: Iz govora dr. Korošca, 8; *Slovenski dom*, 8. 3. 1940: Močan odmev govora dr. Korošca v Belgradu in Zagrebu, 1.

110 *Jutro: ponedeljska izdaja*, 1. 7. 1940: Minister dr. Korošec o prosvetnem programu, 1.

Ustavila pa se je ob njegovem voščilu za Novo leto 1940, v katerem je, na podlagi svoje ocene, izrazil zaskrbljenost zaradi vedno večjega vpliva prostozidarjev.[111] Tedaj je znova prišlo do ostrih ukrepov proti prostozidarjem (Nenetić, 1988, 454).[112] *Jutro* je h Koroščevi izjavi pristavilo, da bi bilo »*zlasti interesantno* [...] *poizvedeti, kdo so slovenski framasoni, na katere dr. Korošec očividno misli, ko svari pred njimi*«.[113] To je bila kočljiva pripomba, saj so slovenski vodilni liberalni politiki v času med svetovnima vojnama pripadali prostozidarjem.[114]

NAMESTO ZAKLJUČKA – OB KOROŠČEVI SMRTI

Ko je 14. decembra 1940 Korošec umrl, so se liberalci od svojega dolgoletnega nasprotnika spoštljivo poslovili. Ne zaradi svojega tedanjega izginjajočega političnega položaja, pač pa iz zavesti o Koroščevem političnozgodovinskem pomenu. Korošec, ki je jeseni 1940 že slutil, da se bo od življenja poslovil, je tedaj obiskal hudo bolnega liberalnega prvaka Alberta Kramerja. Kramer je bil njegovega obiska zelo vesel. Dolgo sta se pogovarjala (Jevnikar, 1990, 164). Oba dolgoletna politična borca sta najbrž prijazno razpravljala, po vsej verjetnosti je v njunem razgovoru svoje mesto imela tudi življenjska modrost. Kramer je ob Koroščevi smrti njegovemu nasledniku dr. Franu Kulovcu poslal sožalni telegram, kot zasebnik pa je prispeval venec za pogreb pokojnega voditelja SLS (Perovšek, 2013, 195).

Liberalna politika je ob slovesu od Korošca videla odhod ene od najbolj izrazitih osebnosti nedavne slovenske in jugoslovanske preteklosti in sedanjosti.[115] Odhod enega od tistih, ki jim je bilo usojeno, da so na prelomu slovenske zgodovine opravljali odločujoče naloge. »*Končno sodbo o pomenu tega moža, o njegovih vrlinah in nedostatkih, njegovih pogreškah in zaslugah bo izrekla zgodovina.*« To naj bi v nepodpisanem članku *Ob smrti dr. Korošca* 15. decembra 1940 v *Jutru* zapisal

111 *Slovenec*, 31. 12. 1939: Voščila Slovencem na novo leto 1940: dr. Anton Korošec, predsednik senata, 3.

112 Kot navaja Nenetić, je Korošec konec tridesetih let tudi trdil, da naj bi bili prostozidarji povezani z atentatom na kralja Aleksandra leta 1934 (Nenetić, 1988, 419).

113 *Jutro*, 3. 1. 1940: Zanimiva novoletna voščila, 7.

114 V svojem obsežnem delu *Masoni u Jugoslaviji* Nenetić navaja, da so prostozidarjem pripadali liberalni prvak iz dvajsetih let, nekdanji predsednik Deželne vlade za Slovenijo, večkratni poslanec in minister dr. Gregor Žerjav, liberalni prvak iz tridesetih let, nekdanji tajnik Narodnega Vijeća SHS za Slovenijo v Zagrebu, večkratni poslanec in minister, jugoslovanski poslanik v Pragi, senator, podpredsednik in glavni tajnik vsedržavne Jugoslovanske nacionalne stranke dr. Albert Kramer, nekdanji tajnik Samostojne kmetijske stranke, ban Dravske banovine, minister, poslanec in senator dr. Drago Marušič, nekdanji poslanec, podpredsednik Senata Kraljevine Jugoslavije in minister dr. Fran Novak, nekdanji liberalni »starin«, član Narodne vlade SHS v Ljubljani in Deželne vlade za Slovenijo ter nekdanji senator in ljubljanski župan, nato tedanji podžupan dr. Vladimir Ravnihar in vidni politik SKS ter jugoslovanski poslanik v Pragi v prvi polovici dvajsetih let dr. Bogumil Vošnjak (Nenetić, 1988, 341, 351, 355, 358, 402, 409, 567–571, 574, 611).

115 Jutro je ob Koroščevi smrti objavilo več člankov in poročil, kot npr. 15. 12. 1940: Ob smrti dr. Korošca, 1; 15. 12. 1940: Dr. Anton Korošec, 3; 15. 12. 1940: Smrt v spanju, 3; 15. 12. 1940: Knez namestnik ob smrtni postelji, 3; 15. 12. 1940: Pogreb v Beogradu, 3; 15. 12. 1940: Sožalje pravoslavne cerkve, 3; 15. 12. 1940: Črne zastave v Ljubljani, 3; 15. 12. 1940: Pogrebne svečanosti v Ljubljani, 3; 15. 12. 1940: Poziv bana in ljubljanskega župana, 3; 15. 12. 1940: Ukinjene javne prireditve, 3; 15. 12. 1940: Žalne prireditve na šolah, 3.


Leto XXI., št. 294

Ljubljana, nedelja 15. decembra 1940

Cena 2 Din

JUTRO

Ob smrti dr. Korošca

Angleži prodrli do Libije

Borbe se nadaljujejo v obmejnih pasovih Libije in je število ujetnikov po angleških poročilih naraslo že na 30.000 — Italijani so s protinapadi ublažili angleški pritisk

Angleški komunike

Italijansko poročilo

Protinapadi italijanskih čet so ublažili angleški pritisk

Angleški bombniki noč in dan na delu

Neprestani srditi napadi na italijanska letališča, skladišča goriva in čete v Libiji in Abesiniji

Vtis angleške zmage v Turčiji in Ameriki

Pred Solumom

Moč italijanske vojske v Egiptu

Laval odstopil

Flandin postal zunanji minister, mesto podpredsednika vlade pa je s spremembo ustave ukinjeno

Okrog sestanka Hitler—Mussolini

Nov Chaplinov film

Nikoli ne odpove — vselej uspe — „Jutrov" mali oglas

Danes 472 ponudb in povpraševanj!

Slika 2: Jutrov uvodnik ob Koroščevi smrti (Jutro, 15. 12. 1940, 1).

njegov direktor Albert Kramer (Godeša & Dolenc, 1999, 34). Po našem mnenju mu lahko avtorstvo tudi pripišemo. Na liberalni strani oziroma Kramer so poudarili, da je bila v času skupnega jugoslovanskega gibanja in združitve z njim najožje povezana, pozneje pa dolga leta v najostrejšem političnem boju. Ob njegovi smrti pa so na mah umolknili vsi bojni glasovi in občutek, da je odhod Antona Korošca težka izguba za narod in državo, prevladuje vsako drugo čustvo. »*Nam je lahko pozabiti premnoge stvari, izreke, akcije, poteze strankarskega šefa in dnevnega politika*«. Dalje je Kramer zapisal: »*V času svetovne vojne je dr. Korošec iz regionalnega strankarskega politika dozorel v državniško višino*«. Takrat se je dvignil visoko, kakor nikdar prej, v resničnega, od vseh priznanega voditelja ne le lastnega slovenskega naroda, temveč vsega jugoslovanstva, ki se je borilo za osvoboditev izpod avstro-ogrskega jarma. V Jugoslaviji se je nato večkrat znašel na fronti, ki se je ne le enkrat silovito borila proti idejam, katerih zastava je bila nekoč v njegovih rokah. V času šestojanuarskega režima jih je znova podprl in se vrnil k ideologiji, ki je notranje morda ni nikoli opustil. Po Kramerju naj bi avtorstvo ljubljanskih punktacij vedno zanikal. Konfinacija, ki ga je nato doletela, se Kramerju ni zdela primerna, čeprav se je »*sicer izvajala na način, ki je bil zanj zelo časten*«. Pozneje je bilo mnogo obračunavanja, kdo je bil kriv za tak ukrep proti enemu najbolj uglednih voditeljev v državi. »*Naj ob tej priliki poudarimo, da se dr. Korošec nikdar ni pridružil obtožbam, ki so bile v tem oziru naperjene proti domačim političnim nasprotnikom, dobro vedoč, da so neosnovane.*«[116]

Ob Koroščevi smrti se na liberalni strani niso izognili priznanju, da je kot načelnik večinske slovenske stranke, katoliške SLS, v Beogradu zastopal tudi Slovence kot take in prevzemal odgovornost za politični položaj slovenskega naroda v državi. V njej je zavzemal najvišje položaje. Njegova politična beseda je imela vedno veljavo in njegova osebnost je bila stalno v ospredju politike. »*Bil je na glasu odličnega političnega taktika, moža, ki je malo povedal ali katerega delovanje za kulisami je dostikrat odločilno vplivalo na razvoj političnih dogodkov. Med jugoslovanskimi politiki in državniki mu bo za vedno pripadlo eno najodličnejših mest.*« Kramer, ki ga je dobro poznal, je posebej opozoril še na njegove osebne lastnosti. »*Bil je osebno skromen, v vsem svojem zasebnem življenju pošten, nedostopen vsaki materialni vabi, odločen in pogumen, človek, ki je v polni meri zaslužil ime moža. Med svojimi pristaši je užival nedeljeno zaupanje in čaščenje, ki mu je samemu bilo dostikrat neprijetno, a je dajalo njegovi politični osebnosti avtoriteto, kakršnih je malo v današnjih časih. Njegov simpatični način občevanja, njegovo optimistično gledanje na svet in življenje sta mu pridobila širok krog osebnih spoštovalcev in prijateljev, ki je daleč presegel okvir njegove stranke. Njegove zasluge v našem narodnem in državnem življenju daleč presegajo vse negativne strani njegovega delovanja in so mu vedno tudi pri političnih nasprotnikih ustvarjale spoštovanje in priznanje.*« Ob njegovi krsti so umolknila vsa nasprotja in ko jugoslovanski nacionalisti »*pošiljamo mrtvemu sinu*

116 *Jutro*, 15. 12. 1940: Ob smrti dr. Korošca, 1.

našega naroda zadnji pozdrav, se oddolžujemo njegovemu spominu z izpovedjo, ki jo najlepše obeležuje jedrnat stavek: Bil je zaslužen za jugoslovensko stvar! Slava njegovemu spominu!«[117]

Liberalne besede slovesa ob Koroščevi smrti so odsevale priznavanje njegove politične sposobnosti, državniškega pomena in ključne vloge v slovenskem narodnopolitičnem razvoju od zadnjega obdobja prve svetovne vojne dalje. Globoka in trajna idejna ter politična nasprotja med katoliškim in liberalnim taborom, ki so se skoraj celotno dobo Koroščevega vodstvenega položaja v slovenski politiki dosledno prepletala z liberalnim odnosom do njega, so se predvsem zrcalila v vprašanju naroda in države – zgodovinskega vprašanja tedanjega časa. Liberalna politika ga je na podlagi svojega unitarističnega in ideološkega stališča zanikala ter v boju SLS in njenega voditelja za slovensko nacionalno individualnost in državnopravno samostojnost videla separatistično, protidržavno in protijugoslovansko usmerjenost ter instrument za vzpostavitev absolutne katoliške prevlade na Slovenskem. Ideološki vidik so povezovali z narodnopolitičnim. Občasno je izrazito stopil v ospredje, a tudi Korošec na tem polju liberalcem ni prizanašal. Ideologija in politika sta v tistem času bistveno označevali slovenski prostor in določili medsebojna razmerja njegovih oblikovalcev. To se je značilno pokazalo prav med Koroščem in liberalci. V kratkem času narodnega in političnega zavezništva so bili brez zadržkov njegovi podporniki in so tudi kasneje v dobi, kot se je reklo, »jugoslovanskega osvobojenja«, videli njegovo največje dejanje. A kot njegovi nasprotniki so bili med najbolj prepričanimi. Vedno pa so se zavedali razsežnosti njegovega vpliva in delovanja.

117 *Jutro*, 15. 12. 1940: Ob smrti dr. Korošca, 1.

LIBERALS AND ANTON KOROŠEC IN THE YEARS BETWEEN 1918 AND 1940

Jurij PEROVŠEK
Institute of Contemporary History, Privoz 11, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: jurij.perovsek@inz.si

SUMMARY

Dr. Anton Korošec (1872–1940), as every other excellent politician, was followed by contradictory assessments in his political and statesmanship activity. On the one hand, there was mass support and utmost emotional allegiance to him as the long-term leader of the catholic Slovenian People's Party (SLS) and the first man of the catholic movement. On the other hand, there was distinctive refusal by the members of the liberal and Marxism camp. In the framework of the traditional catholic-liberal opposition, the most declinatory ideological and political view of Korošec was formed on the liberal side. With the May Declaration of 1917 and the declaration movement in 1917–1918, Korošec became the undisputed Slovenian national leader. His primacy was not questionable for the liberals and they cooperated with him in the national emancipation fight. The conciliatory relationship between the liberals and Korošec lasted through all national emancipation efforts and through the overturn period to the new political momentum in December 1918, when the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom od SHS, from 1929 Kingdom of Yugoslavia) was established. In this time, the liberals labelled Korošec as the leader of the Slovenian nation, a man with their utmost confidence and the personification of the Yugoslav freedom, autonomy and independence. The same as in the Austrian era, Slovenes were engaged in ideological fights also in the Kingdom of SHS (from 1919 the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). Already in the first years after the creation of the Yugoslav state, the catholic and liberal sides encountered irreconcilable differences. The liberals reproached Korošec with being the leader of the conservative political clergy, who, as the minister of traffic did not yield to social requests of the railway workers and forced them to strike. The strike flamed and ended in April 1920 in blood on Zaloška cesta in Ljubljana. After his first ministerial positions, the liberals accused him of hindering the farmers economic progress, aiding to the tax load of Slovenia and signing the ratification of the Rapallo Treaty. He was supposed to be accountable also for the defeat of the Yugoslav (Slovene) side at the plebiscite in Carinthia in 1920. The central political problem of the first nationally integral and centrally founded Yugoslav state almost to the end was the question of its internal regulation. This was the cause of debates between advocates for the Yugoslav national integralism and state unitarism on the one side and national pluralism and autonomy-federalist state programme on the other side. In the 1920s, the majority of the Slovenian liberal politics supported Yugoslav unitarism, in the 1930s all of them. Korošec and the SLS were advocates for the existence of different Yugoslav national individualities and the autonomy-federalist Yugoslav state. The liberals or, in the most part of the 1920s, their leading party, the Yugoslav Democratic Party (Slovene part of

the all-state Democratic Party, in 1924 renamed to the Independent Democratic Party), connected the fight for Yugoslav unitarism with the ideological political fight against Korošec and SLS. They declared that their efforts for Slovenian autonomy is a cover for the fight for total power of political Catholicism and its ideological image in Slovenia. SLS, with its autonomy course, had the majority Slovenian support and Korošec was the leading Slovene politician. In February 1928, Korošec became the minister for internal affairs. At this time, the first of the two strongest attacks of the liberal politics on Korošec in the Kingdom of SHS/Yugoslavia, occurred. After the fatal shots of the great Serbian deputy Puniša Račić on the Croatian deputies at the National Assembly in June 1928, which caused the death of the Croatian national leader Stjepan Radić, the liberal side attacked Korošec because he did not resign and with that exculpate SLS from being responsible for the crime. On June 6, 1928, the leading liberal political newspaper Jutro published an accusatory caricature, which pictured Korošec dressed in a bloodstained priest's robe, with a police hat and a bloodstained rubber truncheon in his right hand raised above the image of the Christ. SLS reacted harshly to the inappropriate caricature and in the summer of 1928 led a strong fight against liberal press. When Korošec became the president of the Yugoslav government in July 1928, the liberal side took a fervent declinatory stance. They stated that his position was only due to a tactical move of the hegemonic great Serbian politics to put a Slovenian catholic priest (and not a Serb) as the head of the government, which leads a strong battle with Croats. "This is the whole ideal of hegemonists. And for this, Korošec was bad enough, or good enough ..." Until September 1930, Korošec remained in the Yugoslav political top; even after his government resigned in December 1928 and after January 1929 when the king, Alexander I Karađorđević, proclaimed his dictatorship. In 1933, due to the opposition federalist Ljubljana Punctuations of SLS or the so-called Korošec Punctuations, there was a second attack of the liberals on Korošec. In accordance with their Yugoslav unity views, they reproached Korošec of making unacceptable demands, for the state union with the Serbs and Croats can only be a unitarian and an undivided Yugoslav whole. The punctuations present the destruction of Yugoslavia, the sin of Korošec on the nation and a crime. In 1935 there was a change in the political power between the catholic and liberal side. Between 1931 and 1935, the liberals were in power, later again the Catholics. In the second half of the 1930s, Korošec was again the strongest Slovenian politician and was among the key decision makers in the Yugoslav state. This reflected also in the stance, which the weakening liberal camp took. The liberal politics stepped aside and only reported on his political actions and did not comment on them. When Korošec suddenly died on December 14, 1940, liberals payed respects to their long term adversary. Not because of their weakening political position, but because they were aware of his historical political importance. Even though they were his most ardent opponents, they were aware of the extensiveness of his influence and actions.

Keywords: liberalism, Anton Korošec, political Catholicism, autonomy, centralism, Yugoslav idea, Kingdom of SHS, Yugoslavia

VIRI IN LITERATURA

Dolenc, E. (1996): Kulturni boj: slovenska kulturna politika v Kraljevini SHS 1918–1929. Ljubljana, Cankarjeva založba.

Gašparič, J. (2007): SLS pod kraljevo diktaturo: diktatura kralja Aleksandra in politika Slovenske ljudske stranke v letih 1929–1935. Ljubljana, Modrijan.

Godeša, B. & E. Dolenc (1999): Izgubljeni spomin na Antona Korošca: iz zapuščine Ivana Ahčina. Ljubljana, Nova revija.

Griesser-Pečar, T. (2019): Slovensko slovo od Habsburžanov. Studia Historica Slovenica, 19, 2, 301–332.

Jevnikar, I. (1990): Dr. Anton Korošec v spominih dr. Mateja Poštovana. Mladika, 34, 10, 164–165.

Jutro. Ljubljana, 1920–1945.

Jutro: ponedeljska izdaja. Ljubljana, 1931–1943.

Kmetijski list. Ljubljana, 1919–1945.

Kmetski list. Ljubljana, 1926–1941.

Kranjec, S. (1962): Koroščevo predavanje o postanku Jugoslavije. Zgodovinski časopis, 16, 218–229.

Maver, A. & D. Friš (2018): *Iudica me, Deus*: duhovniki v politiki na Slovenskem ter v srednji Evropi v prvi polovici 20. stoletja in Anton Korošec. Acta Histriae, 26, 1, 109–126.

Narodni dnevnik. Celje, 1909–1910.

Nenetić, Z. D. (1988): Masoni u Jugoslaviji 1764–1980: pregled istorije slobodnog zidarstva u Jugoslaviji: prilozi i građa: treće, dopunjeno izdanje. Beograd, Autorsko-izdavačka grupa „Zodne".

Nova pravda. Maribor, Ljubljana, 1920–1927.

NUK – Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisna zbirka, 312/1–9, letaki do 1936.

Perovšek, J. (ur.) (1998): Programi političnih strank, organizacij in združenj na Slovenskem v času Kraljevine SHS. Ljubljana, Arhivsko društvo Slovenije.

Perovšek, J. (2013): O demokraciji in jugoslovanstvu: slovenski liberalizem v Kraljevini SHS/Jugoslaviji. Ljubljana, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino.

Perovšek, J. (2018a): Misel o Sloveniji in njeno udejanjenje v času od Majniške deklaracije do oblikovanja Države SHS in Narodne vlade SHS v Ljubljani. Studia Historica Slovenica, 18, 2, 421–442.

Perovšek, J. (2018b): Politična podoba Ptuja v letih 1918–1941. V: Šteiner M. (ur.): Ptuj v 20. stoletju: zbornik ob 125-letnici ptujskega muzeja. Ptuj, Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj-Ormož, 133–165.

Perovšek, Jurij (2019a): Narodni svet in slovenska samoodločba leta 1918. Studia Historica Slovenica, 19, 2, 333–368.

Perovšek, J. (2019b): Nastanek Države Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov 29. oktobra 1918 in njen narodnozgodovinski pomen. Studia Historica Slovenica, 19, 2, 369–398.

Perovšek, J. (2020): Politični položaj na Slovenskem leta 1919. Studia Historica Slovenica, 20, 2, 359–394.

Pleterski, J. (1998): Dr. Ivan Šušteršič 1863–1925: pot prvaka slovenskega političnega katolicizma. Ljubljana, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, Založba ZRC.

Ponedeljski Slovenec. Ljubljana, 1932–1939.

Rahten, A. (2018a): Radić na štajerski fronti. Hrvaško-slovenska politična razmerja v mariborskem volilnem okrožju v Kraljevini SHS. Studia Historica Slovenica 18, 1, 171–190.

Rahten, A. (2018b): Račun brez Korošca? Dileme očeta Jugoslavije ob ustanovitvi Banovine Hrvaške. Studia Historica Slovenica, 18, 3, 845–881.

Rahten, A. (2020): Koroška po plebiscitu. Revanšizem, revizionizem in pregoni v poplebiscitnih mesecih. Studia Historica Slovenica, 20, 2, 565–595.

Ratej, M. (2005): Slovenska ljudska stranka v vladi Antona Korošca – ratifikacija Nettunskih konvencij. Zgodovinski časopis, 59, 1–2, 111–127.

Ratej, M. (2007): Politika narodnega sporazuma – Slovenska ljudska stranka v vladi Ljubomirja Davidovića. Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino, 47, 1, 65–83.

Ratej, M. (2009): Anton Korošec, notranji minister leta 1928. Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino, 49, 1, 227–242.

Ratej, M. (2010): »Korošec vihti bič nad železničarji«. Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino, 50, 1, 27–38.

Slovenec. Ljubljana, 1873–1945.

Slovenski dom. Ljubljana, 1935–1945.

Slovenski narod. Ljubljana, 1868–1943.

SNZ – Slovenska novejša zgodovina. Od programa Zedinjena Slovenija do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije 1848–1992. Fischer, J. et al. (ur.). Knj. 1. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2006.

Stavbar, V. (2014): Politik Vekoslav Kukovec: politično delovanje do leta 1918. Ljubljana, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino.

Stavbar, V. (2017): Majniška deklaracija in deklaracijsko gibanje: slovenska politika v habsburški monarhiji od volilne reforme do nove države: 1906–1918. Maribor, Založba Pivec.

Steinbacher, N. & A. Rahten (2019): »V boj za staro pravdo!« – ustanovitev in delovanje Samostojne kmetijske stranke do konca zasedanja konstituante. Studia Historica Slovenica, 19, 1, 71–106.

Stiplovšek, M. (2000): Slovenski parlamentarizem 1927–1929: avtonomistična prizadevanja skupščin ljubljanske in mariborske oblasti za ekonomsko-socialni in prosvetno-kulturni razvoj Slovenije ter za udejanjenje parlamentarizma. Ljubljana, Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete.

Stiplovšek, M. (2006): Banski svet Dravske banovine 1930–1935: prizadevanja banskega sveta za omilitev gospodarsko-socialne krize in razvoj prosvetno-kulturnih dejavnosti v Sloveniji ter za razširitev samoupravnih in upravnih pristojnosti banovine. Ljubljana, Znanstvenoraziskovalni inštitut Filozofske fakultete.

Tominšek Perovšek, M. (2013): Uredništvo Slovenca. V: Tominšek Perovšek, M. (ur.): Slovenec: političen list za slovenski narod (1873–1945): kratek pregled zgodovine ob 140-letnici njegovega izhajanja. Ljubljana, Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije, 172–175.

Vidovič-Miklavčič, A. (1994): Mladina med nacionalizmom in katolicizmom: pregled razvoja in dejavnosti mladinskih organizacij, društev in gibanj v liberalno-unitarnem in katoliškem taboru v letih 1929–1941 v jugoslovanskem delu Slovenije. Ljubljana, Študentska organizacija Univerze.

Vsi v boj za Narodni blok ([1925]): Vsi v boj za Narodni blok: za enakost[,] bratstvo in svobodo. [Ljubljana], Narodni blok.

Zečević, M. (1977): Slovenska ljudska stranka in jugoslovansko zedinjenje 1917–1921: od majniške deklaracije do vidovdanske ustave. Maribor, Obzorja.

Received: 2021-11-15 DOI 10.19233/AH.2021.41

UČNA LETA SLOVENSKE HUMANISTIKE V MARIBORU: *ČASOPIS ZA ZGODOVINO IN NARODOPISJE* V PRVIH TREH DESETLETJIH

Aleš MAVER
Univerza v Mariboru, Filozofska fakulteta, Koroška cesta 160, 2000, Maribor, Slovenija
e-mail: ales.maver@um.si

Darko FRIŠ
Univerza v Mariboru, Filozofska fakulteta, Koroška cesta 160, 2000, Maribor, Slovenija
e-mail: darko.fris@um.si

IZVLEČEK

Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, ki je začel izhajati leta 1904, velja za enega stebrov razvoja humanistične znanosti v Mariboru in v slovenskem delu Štajerske v prvi polovici 20. stoletja. Prispevek skuša predstaviti glavne točke njegove vsebine in njegove osrednje sodelavce v obdobju pred drugo svetovno vojno, ko je ob začetku nacistične okupacije Štajerske nehal izhajati. Kot izhodišče služi jubilejni zbornik, leta 1937 posvečen Francu Kovačiču. Na njegovi podlagi je moč izrisati panoramsko podobo revije proti koncu predvojnega obdobja. V osrednjem delu so predstavljena glavna vsebinska področja objavljenih prispevkov, zlasti srednje- in novoveška zgodovina. Ob Kovačičevem je poudarjen tudi prispevek Franca Ilešiča. Pokaže se, da je pred drugo svetovno vojno Časopis užival znaten ugled v slovenskem znanstvenem prostoru.

Ključne besede: Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, Franc Kovačič, znanstvene revije v Sloveniji, Spodnja Štajerska, Franc Ilešič, Anton Kaspret, uredniška politika, slovensko zgodovinopisje

GLI ANNI DI APPRENDIMENTO DEGLI STUDI UMANISTICI SLOVENI A MARIBOR: I PRIMI TRE DECENNI DELLA RIVISTA *ČASOPIS ZA ZGODOVINO IN NARODOPISJE* (RIVISTA DI STORIA ED ETNOGRAFIA)

SINTESI

La rivista di storia ed etnografia (Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje), che ha iniziato a essere pubblicata nel 1904, è considerata uno dei pilastri nello sviluppo delle scienze umanistiche a Maribor e nella parte slovena della Stiria nella prima metà del secolo XX. L'articolo presenta i punti salienti riguardo i contenuti e i principali collaboratori nel periodo precedente alla Seconda guerra mondiale fino all'occupazione nazista della

Stiria quando smise di essere pubblicata. Come punto di partenza abbiamo preso l'antologia giubilare dedicata nel 1937 a Franc Kovačič, con la quale è possibile tracciare un›immagine panoramica della rivista verso la fine del periodo prebellico. La parte principale è dedicata poi ai contenuti principali degli articoli pubblicati, in particolare sulla storia medievale e moderna. Oltre al Kovačič viene sottolineato anche il contributo di Franc Ilešič. Risulta di come prima del secondo conflitto mondiale la rivista godeva di una notevole reputazione nel campo scientifico sloveno.

Parole chiave: Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, Franc Kovačič, riviste scientifiche in Slovenia, Bassa Stiria, Franc Ilešič, Anton Kaspret, politica editoriale, storiografia slovena

UVOD[1]

Dvaintrideseti letnik Časopisa za zgodovino in narodopisje je bil kot Kovačičev zbornik v celoti posvečen »ustanovitelju in voditelju« revije, kakor je rečeno na prvi strani zbornika, prelatu Francu Kovačiču ob njegovem sedemdesetem rojstnem dnevu (o zgodovinskih okoliščinah izida zbornika prim. Friš & Gostenčnik, 2018). Tovrstni poklon ni le primerno ovrednotil prispevka dotlej najdejavnejšega in najvztrajnejšega sotrudnika Časopisa, marveč hkrati še sedanjemu bralcu in preučevalcu ponuja primerno izhodišče, ob katerem lahko začne s premislekom o avtorjih in vsebinskih poudarkih zgodnje v slovenščini izdajane znanstvene revije na Štajerskem. Ob Kovačičevi sedemdesetletnici sta se namreč na straneh njegovega »otroka« tako rekoč staknili njegova preteklost in prihodnost. Obenem se je pokazalo, da je časopis v prvih treh desetletjih svojega izhajanja več kot izpolnil nalogo in okvir, ki mu jo je uredništvo začrtalo v predgovoru k prvi številki leta 1904 (o začetkih društva in časopisa prim. zlasti Vrbnjak, 2003, in Friš, 2013). Javnost na Slovenskem je očitno naklonjeno sprejela njegova prizadevanja »razjašnjevati prošlost Južne Štajerske in drugih notranjeavstrijskih dežel, ki so bile pod žezlom Habsburžanov nekaterikrat upravno združene« (Predgovor, 2), saj najdemo med sodelavkami in sodelavci zbornika zgodovinarje in humaniste z vseh vetrov slovenskega občestva, pa tudi teme, s katerimi se ukvarjajo, kljub še vedno prevladujočemu spodnještajerskemu koloritu posegajo v celoten slovenski etnični prostor.

Ob tem izhodišču bova skušala na naslednjih straneh skicirati pot, ki jo je *Časopis* prehodil od začetka do nasilne prekinitve izhajanja ob nemški okupaciji. Ustavila se bova predvsem ob avtorjih in prispevkah, ki zadevajo zgodovinske teme. Vendar bo nekaj prostora posvečenega tudi umetnostno- in literarnozgodovinskim ter jezikoslovnim prispevkom. Skušala bova opozoriti zlasti na tiste poudarke, ki so bili v slovenski humanistiki navzoči in vplivni še v naslednjih desetletjih.

KOVAČIČEV ZBORNIK KOT PREREZ PRVIH TREH DESETLETIJ ČASOPISA ZA ZGODOVINO IN NARODOPISJE

Nekaj znanstvenikov, ki so s svojimi prispevki počastili dolgoletnega urednika, je Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje soustvarjalo od samega začetka. Med njimi je po številu prispevkov verjetno izstopal Kovačičev mlajši vrstnik in bližnji rojak Fran Ilešič (prim. o okoliščinah njegovega delovanja Štuhec, 2020; Čeh Steger, 2020). Tako rekoč v prvo generacijo piscev je potrebno umestiti še pravnega zgodovinarja Metoda Dolenca. Že zgodaj sta s Časopisom sodelovala tudi najpomembnejša slovenska literarna zgodovinarja prve polovice 20. stoletja in vsaj

1 Prispevek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa *Preteklost severovzhodne Slovenije med slovenskimi zgodovinskimi deželami in v interakciji z evropskim sosedstvom* (ARRS, P6-0128) in raziskovalnega projekta *Kultura spominjanja gradnikov slovenskega naroda in države* (ARRS, J6-9354), ki ju financira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARRS).

občasna strastna tekmeca France Kidrič in Ivan Grafenauer. Prvi je bil sicer na straneh revije bolj navzoč, a tudi prvi Grafenauerjev prispevek v njej je bil še sad prvega desetletja dvajsetega stoletja, ko ni imel koroški literarni zgodovinar še niti trideset let. Čast je Kovačiču izkazal tudi korifeja tedanje slovenske literarne zgodovine in jezikoslovja, dolgoletni profesor v Pragi Matija Murko (1861–1951), ki je bil s svojim člankom o zgodovinski izpričanosti slovenskih ljudskih pesmi sočasno najstarejši sodelavec zbornika in edini, ki je bil starejši od samega Kovačiča (nazadnje ga je za dvanajst let preživel). Murko sicer ni bil tako reden sodelavec Časopisa kot nekateri izmed naštetih. Čeravno je bil od Kovačiča mlajši petnajst let, lahko v pionirsko generacijo revije izmed avtorjev, ki so se poklonili dolgoletnemu uredniku, umestimo vsaj še etnologa in literarnega zgodovinarja Franca Kotnika (1882–1955), najzaslužnejšega za to, da so bile ob spodnještajerskih od vsega začetka izredno navzoče koroške teme.

Že v naslednji rod znanstvenikov je sodil v času Kovačičeve sedemdesetletnice vodilni slovenski medievist Milko Kos (1892–1972), ki je v dvaintridesetem letniku razmišljal o nastanku urbarjev iz zgodnjega 14. stoletja za salzburške posesti v Posavju. Toda začetki njegovega pisanja za mariborski znanstveni časopis segajo že v obdobje pred prvo svetovno vojno. Leta 1913 je namreč kot enaindvajsetletnik priobčil razpravo o slovenskih imenih v sekovski bratovščinski knjigi (Kos, 1913). Po drugi strani je bil klasični filolog Josip Tominšek (1872–1954) sicer skoraj še Kovačičev vrstnik, vendar je postal v Časopisu opaznejši šele po prvi svetovni vojni, kar je povezano z njegovo selitvijo v Maribor. Med Kosove vrstnike je sodil tudi eden sourednikov *Kovačičevega zbornika* in Časopisa Janko Glaser (1893–1975). Slednji je predvsem z literarnozgodovinskimi prispevki začel dajati ton reviji v dvajsetih letih dvajsetega stoletja. Še mlajši je bil drugi urednik Franjo Baš (1899–1967), ki se je začel oglašati v približno istem obdobju in bil v zadnjem predvojnem desetletju verjetno že prvo pero Časopisa za zgodovino in narodopisje. Kot je med drugim očitno iz njegovega prispevka v zborniku o izgonih na Dravskem polju, je s svojim vstopom razširil njegovo obzorje s temami, sodečimi na ožje geografsko področje, kar je pozneje ostalo stalnica. Glaser in Baš sodita že med tiste sotrudnike pri *Kovačičevem zborniku*, ki so doživeli in sooblikovali »vstajenje« revije po dveh desetletjih premora. Med njimi je bil prav tako na Ptuju rojeni arheolog Balduin Saria (1893–1974), o katerem bo še govor v nadaljevanju, seveda pa je povojni del njegove kariere potekal zunaj Slovenije.[2]

2 Prim. nekakšno zadrego, ki veje iz nekrologa Ive Mikl Curk (Mikl Curk, 1974). Na začetku se Miklova skoraj opravičuje, ker v Časopisu izhaja spominski zapis o dolgoletnem sodelavcu: »Bil je dopisnik Časopisa za zgodovino in narodopisje v predvojnem obdobju, pa tudi v novi seriji je pojasnil nekaj vprašanj iz podobe rimskega Ptuja. Zato je prav, da mu tudi posvetimo kratko misel. Njegova dela vsak dan uporabljamo, zato mimo njegove vloge v slovenski arheologiji ne moremo, pa čeprav je tudi njegovo življenje imelo svojo senčno plat.« Opravičilu podoben je še zaključek prispevka: »Tako vidimo tisti, ki poznamo le dela B. Sarie, potem ko jih objektivno ovrednotimo, da je dal toliko, da ga tudi z naših današnjih gledišč ne moremo odkloniti.« Je pa bil v isti številki objavljen zadnji članek Balduina Sarie (Saria, 1974), ki je nastal še leta 1973. Del zadrege sedaj dobro pojasni Janez Mlinar (Mlinar, 2019).

Kovačiča je počastil s prispevkom o najdbah iz Petovione, povezanih s kultom egipčanskih božanstev. V obnovljenem Časopisu za zgodovino in narodopisje se je oglašal tudi Jakob Soklič (1893–1972), z Bleda izvirajoči župnik v Slovenj Gradcu, v prejšnjem desetletju eden najvidnejših sotrudnikov časopisa. Ukvarjal se je predvsem s krajevno zgodovino širšega območja svojega delovanja, Dravske doline in Jugoslaviji priključenega območja Koroške. Njegov prispevek v jubilejnem zborniku je v skladu z njegovim tedanjim zanimanjem veljal znani slovenjgraški slikarski rodbini Straussov.

Obnove mariborske revije ni več dočakal Josip Mravljak (1892–1953), verjetno najdejavnejši zgodovinar samouk v predvojnem Časopisu (prim. Ravnikar, 2020). Od svojega prvega nastopa v njem praktično ni izpustil številke, ne da bi jo obogatil s svojimi odkritji iz krajevne zgodovine Dravske doline. Skladno s tem je v zborniku pisal o domačih imenih kmetij v okolici Vuzenice.

Med zanimivejše postave v obravnavani reviji v obdobju po prvi svetovni vojni je navsezadnje sodil Václav Burian (1884–1952), katerega sodelovanje je omogočila njegova dejavnost lektorja za češčino na ljubljanski univerzi. Bralstvu se je denimo predstavil z objavljenim predavanjem ob stoti obletnici smrti Josefa Dobrovskega (Burian, 1929) in z vrsto ocen. Pozneje, v tridesetih letih, je pomembno posegel v slovensko literarno in kulturno zgodovino in se ukvarjal zlasti z likom in delom Jerneja Kopitarja (prim. Burian, 1933). V istem duhu vsebuje *Kovačičev zbornik* njegovo razavo o Kopitarjevih stikih z zagrebškim škofom Maksimilijanom Vrhovcem.

Na svoj način podobno kot Čeh Burian je pot v Časopis našel Mihovil Abramić (1884–1962). V Pulju rojeni arheolog je službeno resda deloval v Splitu, toda poroka s Ptujčanko ga je vsako leto pripeljala v ptujsko arheološko »meko« in posledično iz njega naredila ob Sarii glavnega dopisnika mariborskega glasila s področja rimske arheologije, spričo česar bo o njem še potrebno spregovoriti. Kovačiču se je leta 1937 poklonil s takrat v državi, ki se je precej ponašala z ilirsko dediščino, »trendovskim« razmislekom o predstavitvah Ilirov na antičnih spomenikih. Abramić je bil sicer tisti avtor, ki je svoje članke objavljal v hrvaščini.

Med sodelavci, ki so kljub svojemu znanstvenemu ugledu v slovenski javnosti razmeroma pozno pogosteje »spregovorili« v osrednjem štajerskem znanstvenem glasilu, je med avtorji v Kovačiču posvečeni publikaciji nedvomno jezikoslovec Anton Breznik (1881–1944). Je pa že leta 1919 priobčil obsežni nekrolog za jezikoslovnim predhodnikom Stanislavom Škrabcem (Breznik, 1919). Nekaj podobnega kot o Brezniku bi lahko rekli o klasičnem filologu in mariborskem profesorju Antonu Dolarju (1875–1953), katerega najtehtnejši teksti enako izvirajo iz tridesetih let, ko je možakar že krepko zakorakal v šesto življenjsko desetletje. Izstopa predvsem njegov izjemno obsežni oris življenja in dela bližnjega rojaka, jezikoslovca in avtorja obsežne slovenske literarne zgodovine Karla Glaserja (Dolar, 1934). Leta 1937 je napisal prispevek s povsem drugega področja in obravnaval pasti načela paritete, kot naj bi se pokazale pri izvedbi koroškega plebiscita oktobra 1920 (o plebiscitu prim. zdaj Rahten, 2020a in 2020b). Med drugim je zatrdil:

> *Namen naslednjih vrstic pa je pokazati, da so se baš najusodnejše spremembe vršile s stališča in po načelu, ki je na videz napredno, zapadnjaško, demokratično, v našem slučaju pa je bilo neumestno in zmotno.* […] *Že odredba plebiscita je pomenila za koroške Slovence pretežko izkušnjo. Ali si je mogoče misliti večjo dispariteto, kakor je bila med Slovenci in Nemci v plebiscitnem ozemlju? Koroški Slovenci, ki jih je stoletna sistematična germanizacija spravila v prislovični položaj vilajeta, hirajoča veja nekdaj mogočnega debla, so bili skoro izključno tipične kmečke množice* […] *Na drugi strani pa so bili Nemci kot gospodujoča plast, raztreseni med slovensko maso kot veleposestniki, uradniki, trgovci, vsi vajeni videti v Slovencih inferiorno raso, ki jim je radi svoje heterogenosti bila na poti in jo je treba čim prej varkati.* (Dolar, 1937, 248–249)

Svoja izvajanja o neustreznosti rabe paritetnega načela je nato še podkrepil: »Prvi udarec, ki nam ga je zadalo paritetno načelo, je bila odločba Vrhovnega sveta, da namesto ameriškega člana sodelujeta jugoslovanski in avstrijski delegat, in sicer oba v zadevah obeh con. Navidez sila pravično, v resnici pa v veliko enostransko korist za Nemce. Kajti nemški delegat je imel možnost, da je lahko znatno vplival v naši coni Nemcem v prid in je to ugodnost temeljito izkoriščal, dočim naš delegat po izgubi cone A sploh ni prišel v podoben položaj.« (Dolar, 1937, 249).

Kot predstavnika najmlajšega rodu sodelavcev, ki so glavnino svojega opusa ustvarili po drugi svetovni vojni, moramo izpostaviti Antonovega sina Jaroslava (1911–1999) in tedanjega dobrovniškega kaplana Ivana Zelka (1912–1986). Mlajši Dolar je pisal o prizadevanjih za slovenski literarni list v Mariboru. Zelko, še v novi vrsti eden poglavitnih prekmurskih krajevnih zgodovinarjev, se je v Časopisu oglasil že kot bogoslovec leta 1934 (Zelko, 1934), njegov članek v *Kovačičevem zborniku* pa je osvetljeval zgodovino reformacije v Prekmurju.

Če je bil doslej govor zlasti o Kovačičevih »častilcih« iz leta 1937, ki so njegovemu časopisu vtisnili manjši ali večji pečat tudi sicer, ugled bistvenega mariborskega znanstvenega podjetja verjetno še bolje kažejo »gostje«, predstavniki slovenske znanosti in kulture, ki z revijo niso redno sodelovali, pa so vseeno naredili poklon pred njo in predvsem njenim ustanoviteljem in idejnim vodjo. Seznam začenja Sariev kolega pri izdajanju rimskih napisov z jugoslovanskega ozemlja, zagrebški profesor arheologije Viktor Hoffiler (1877–1954), ki je pisal o novih najdbah rimskih čelad. Omembe vredni so gotovo vsestranski patrolog Franc Ksaver Lukman (1880–1958) s člankom o ljubljanskem škofu Herbersteinu, avtor obsežne slovenske zgodovine Josip Mal (1884–1978) ali tedanji vodilni slovenski geograf Anton Melik (1890–1966). Rod mlajših, že uveljavljenih zgodovinarjev sta denimo zastopala vsestranski Korošec Franc Sušnik (1898–1980) ali ljubljanski profesor Fran Zwitter (1905–1988).

Za konec prikaza *Kovačičevega zbornika* sva prihranila teologa Franca Grivca (1878–1963). Ker je ta ključni raziskovalec »blagovestnikov Slovanov« Cirila in Metoda v Časopisu sicer manj nastopal, morava že na pričujočem mestu kratko omeniti njegovo pomembno razpravo iz zbornika, posvečeno knezu Koclju (kmalu

nadgrajeno v knjižno objavo). Grivčev prikaz je bistveno pomagal sooblikovati predstavo o spodnjepanonskem vladarju kot o »slovenskem knezu«, ki je še danes živa, čeprav so novejša dognanja podobo izpod peresa zgodnjega slovenskega ekumenskega delavca v marsičem postavila pod vprašaj, vsaj kar zadeva konec Kocljeve oblasti nad Panonijo (prim. Štih & Simoniti, 2009, zlasti 70). Vredno si je ogledati nekaj temeljnih Grivčevih tez. Začne vsekakor bombastično: »Slovenski panonski knez Kocelj je najidealnejša knežja postava, kar sta jih sv. Ciril in Metod srečala na svojih misijonskih potih od Kavkaza do Tatre in do Rima.« (Grivec, 1937, 46).

Da bi dokazal utemeljenost svoje trditve, je moral zgodovinar seveda pokazati Kocljevo prednost pred pobudnikom Konstantinovega in Metodovega misijona, velikomoravskim knezom Rastislavom. Tovrstno oceno je razbiral že iz virov, kajti: »Staroslovensko Žitje Konstantina (Cirila) hvali Koclja bolj nego Rastislava. Samo o Koclju trdi, da je slovenske knjige 'močno vzljubil' in se jih učil. Bil je torej v doslovnem smislu učenec sv. Cirila in Metoda.« (Grivec, 1937, 47). Svojo tezo skuša nadalje podkrepiti z jezikovnimi razlogi: »Slavisti priznavajo, da slovanska apostola nista bila nikjer tako prisrčno in s tolikim razumevanjem sprejeta kakor v slovenski Panoniji. To skušajo razložiti že iz dejstva, da je bilo krščanstvo v Panoniji že ukoreninjeno in da je bila že udomačena slovanska krščanska terminologija. Zato so panonski Slovenci znali slovansko bogoslužje bolje ceniti kakor Moravani. Cerkvenoslovanski književni jezik, ki je imel za podlago južno slovansko narečje, je bil panonskemu slovenskemu narečju bližji kakor moravskemu.« (Grivec, 1937, 47). Sklep Grivčevih izvajanj še presega napoved z začetka besedila: »Svojo zvestobo do ujetega Metoda je Kocelj dokazoval z dejanji. V tej zvezi je omenjena nemška grožnja razumljiva in tudi Kocljevo nenadno smrt moremo razložiti kot izvršitev te grožnje ter kot žrtev zvestobe in pokroviteljstva nad sv. Metodom. Kocelj ni samo sprejemal navodil sv. Cirila in Metoda kot njun goreč učenec, marveč je kot njun knežji pokrovitelj vplival tudi na smer njunih apostolskih potov in del.« (Grivec, 1937, 52) Mimogrede naj še omenim, da Grivec avtorja slovite *Conversio* v duhu svojega časa vidi preprosto kot »nemškega duhovnika« (Grivec, 1937, 51).

FRANC KOVAČIČ V ČASOPISU ZA ZGODOVINO IN NARODOPISJE

Meniva, da ni bilo napak posvetiti analizi *Kovačičevega zbornika* nekaj več prostora, saj slednji res ponuja dober panoramski pregled nad prvimi tremi desetletji obstoja revije. Omejitev je seveda, da zlasti iz pionirskih generacij marsikdo v njem ni mogel sodelovati, ker ga ni bilo več med živimi. V nadaljevanju nameravava panoramsko sliko dopolniti z nekaterimi podrobnostmi.

V predgovoru k prvi številki je uredniški odbor jasno začrtal področja, ki naj bi našla mesto v Časopisu in seveda v delovanju društva, ki ga je izdajalo: »Poleg zgodovine pa bo društvo gojilo tudi slovensko narodopisje, zgodovino slovenskega slovstva in slovensko jezikoslovje ter vrhu tega poročalo o izkopinah in starinah Južne Štajerske in pa o domačem in tujem slovstvu, ki bi se nanašalo na društveni delokrog.« (Predgovor, 1904, 2). Reči je moč, da je ostalo glasilo programu vse-

skozi zvesto (o spreminjajočih zgodovinskih okoliščinah njegovega izhajanja prim. ob Vrbnjak, 2003, še Perovšek, 2020, in Griesser Pečar, 2019 in 2020). Predvsem plodno znanstveno delo Avguština Stegenška je očrtanemu vrhu tega že ob samem začetku dodalo umetnostno zgodovino, ki je potem ohranjala pomembno vlogo ne le do druge svetovne vojne, marveč tudi v novi vrsti, tedaj v prvi vrsti po zaslugi Sergeja Vrišerja, in nekoliko pozneje, zlasti kot sad nastopa Franja Baša in deloma Antona Melika, še geografijo. V novi vrsti je za ohranjanje tovrstnega izročila najbolj skrbel Vladimir Bračič.

Končno sta Časopis in društvo v spremenljivih razmerah na svoj način ohranjala zvestobo še eni maksimi iz uvodnega besedila: »Naše podjetje je torej eminentno patriotično.« (Predgovor, 1904, 2). Seveda pa se eminentne patriotičnosti ni dalo vedno kazati na enak način (prim. o teh spremembah Friš, 2018; Perovšek, 2018; Griesser Pečar, 2019; Repe, 2020; Vidmar, 2020; Mithans, 2020). S tem v zvezi lahko navedeva nekrolog za kraljem Aleksandrom I., kjer med drugim beremo: »Zgodovinarji in narodopisci se posebej spominjajo velikega pokojnika kot prijatelja naše narodne in to zlasti srednjeveške zgodovine. Njegovo zanimanje za srednjeveške srbske zadužbine je znano prav tako kakor njegov interes za Celjane. […] Pa tudi Študijska knjižnica in Banovinski arhiv v Mariboru, katerih ustanovitev je v tesni zvezi z novo narodno državo, ostaneta trajni priči vlade kralja Aleksandra I.« (Kralj Aleksander, 1934, 98–99).

Če bi bilo treba sedaj izpostaviti enega samega ustvarjalca Časopisa za zgodovino in narodopisje iz prvega obdobja njegovega izhajanja, ki ga je najbolj zaznamoval, izbira kljub obilici piscev, kot je bilo že nakazano, vendarle ni težka. Franc Kovačič ni samo avtor največjega števila prispevkov, temveč se je vsaj od daleč dotaknil skoraj vsakega prej navedenega področja. Predvsem v prvih letih je redno poročal o novih arheoloških najdbah, posegal je v umetnostnozgodovinske probleme, kot priča njegova dopolnitev nedokončanega Stegenškovega članka o zgodovinskih likih pod plaščem ptujskogorske Marije Zavetnice (Stegenšek & Kovačič, 1922), razreševal jezikoslovna in geografska vprašanja. Istočasno se je loteval tem iz zelo različnih zgodovinskih obdobij. Čeprav so bila starejša od zgodnjega srednjega do zgodnjega novega veka pri tem v ospredju, ga je predvsem zanimanje za življenje in delo Antona Martina Slomška in vprašanje razmejitve med Kraljevino SHS in Avstrijo usmerjalo tudi k preučevanju novejše in sodobne zgodovine (prim. Kačičnik, 2007; Matjašič Friš, 2009).

Na kratko bi lahko povzeli, da za njegovo dolgoletno delo pri Časopisu velja podobno kot ob njegovem urednikovanju pri *Voditelju v bogoslovnih vedah*, glede katerega je Franjo Baš ugotavljal: »Uredniško delo pri Voditelju kaže Kovačiča kot pravega organizatorja. Skrbno zasleduje vse, kar spada v program revije, ter opozarja na to s krajšimi ali daljšimi poročili svoje duhovne tovariše; če mu iz določene panoge manjka gradiva, prime za pero sam, da vrzel izpolni.« (Baš, 1939, 9) Nič čudnega torej ni, da je urednik Časopisa za zgodovino in narodopisje svojemu predhodniku ob njegovi smrti posvetil izjemno obsežen spominski zapis, v katerem je temeljito predstavil in ovrednotil tudi njegove prispevke v reviji. Ocene iz leta 1939 se zdijo še danes tehtne:

> *Narodna slovenska zgodovina je v središču vseh Kovačičevih izvajanj. V tem je njegova moč in s tem Kovačič osvaja javnost; teze, ki jih pri tem postavlja, sicer kritično niso vedno dopustne, so pa jasno formulirane in zaradi svoje jasnosti in določnosti zmorejo zanimati tudi najširše kroge čitateljev ter zbujati v njih interes za zgodovino. Za obstoj in razvoj Zgodovinskega društva in njegovega glasila je to postalo važno posebno, ko so začeli s časom društveniki odklanjati tisto vsebino Časopisa, ki je imela ekskluzivno znanstven značaj.* […] *Tisti, ki je s prispevki, dostopnimi tudi povprečnemu društveniku, ohranjal stike in zanimanje, je bil predvsem Kovačič. Obvaroval je s tem društvo pred krizo, ki bi bila nedvomno nastopila, če bi bil Časopis pri svojih objavah zahteve in potrebe večjega dela naročnikov puščal povsem neupoštevane.* (Baš, 1939, 17)

Kot nekakšen medklic bodi povedano, da je v nekaterih krogih poudarjana dihotomija med večini bralstva dostopnejšimi prispevki, kakršni so bili njegovi, in zahtevnejšimi na vsaj domnevno višji znanstveni ravni samega Kovačiča peklila. To je jasno izpovedal v nekrologu za prvim Časopisovim urednikom Antonom Kaspretom, s katerim sta imela nelahek odnos (prim. o tem temeljito Friš, 2013). Tam je med drugim zapisal:

> *Literarni historik, ki bo čez par desetletij čital te reči* [nekatere Kaspretu posvečene nekrologe]*, bo dobil utisek, da je bil Kaspret pravcati mučenik za znanstvo, odbor 'Zg. dr.' pa družba srednjeveških inkvizitorjev.* […] *'Zg. dr.' je v najtežjih časih tukaj ob severni meji visoko dvigalo zastavo velike kulturne ideje in klicalo k znanstvenemu delu. Društvena poročila in razni pozivi, 'Časopis', knjižnica, muzej in arhiv kažejo, je-li njegovo obzorje segalo čez 'opisovanje kapelic' ali ne.* […] *Zadelo je društvo mnogokrat na gluha ušesa, boriti se je imelo z vsakovrstnimi težavami, uloge znanstvenega Herostrata pa ni nikdar igralo ne društvo, ne njegov odbor in ne dolgoletni tajnik* [sc. Kovačič]. *Tu stojimo s svojim delom, sodite nas, a sodite nas pravično!* (Kovačič, 1921, 128–135)

Očitno so omenjene dileme Kovačiča mučile vse do smrti, kakor lahko sklepamo iz Baševih domnev: »Ljub mu je bil [Kovačiču] razgovor o knjižnici, arhivu ali muzeju […], medtem ko je o Časopisu ali o svojem življenju in o svojih delih – razen o študijah v Varaždinu in Rimu ter o abstinenčnem delovanju – pripovedoval malo. Mogoče je bil vzrok temu v upokojitvi v četrto položajno skupino, kar ga je bolelo in iz česar je sklepal – dasi se je o tem izrazil le kdaj izjemoma –, da je njegovo zgodovinsko delo ostalo brez cene in pomena.« (Baš, 1939, 36–37).

Spričo že obstoječe obsežne Baševe analize naj tukaj omeniva le dva Kovačičeva prispevka, ki njegovo zgodovinsko pisanje kažeta z dveh različnih plati. Iz zgodnejšega obdobja bi izpostavila leta 1908 objavljeni prispevek *Petovij v zgodovini Južne Štajerske* (Kovačič, 1908). Ta, nastal na podlagi predavanja poznejšega prelata na občnem zboru Zgodovinskega društva v Mariboru 1907, ni

značilen le kot zgled tedanje Kovačičeve metode, o kateri Baš posrečeno pravi, da »rezultati študije ne slede neposredno iz virov, ampak slone na kombinaciji« (Baš, 1939, 15). Značilen je tudi za njegovo iskanje povezav slovenskega prostora z jugovzhodom, ki mu je ostal zvest vse do smrti. Ni torej presenetljivo, da skuša na mesto dejanskega pokristjanjevalnega scenarija, v katerem je imela v velikem delu poznejšega slovenskega etničnega prostora v antiki glavno besedo »tuja« Akvileja (Oglej) (prim. zlasti Bratož, 1986, in Bratož, 2014), postaviti alternativnega z vodilno vlogo poznejše (nominalne) Metodove stolice Sirmija. V omenjenem smislu je takrat štiridesetletni zgodovinar pisal:

> *Pramatica krščanskim cerkvam v Iliriku je apostolska cerkev v Solunu, odtod je krščanstvo nastopilo pot in se izžarivalo po balkanskem potoku.* […] *V Sremu je bilo politično središče celega Ilirika, tukaj je tudi sedež metropolitanske oblasti za ves Ilirik. Od Srema navzgor ob Dravi je bilo prvo in največje mesto Petovij, tukaj je torej brezdvomno prej nastal škofijski sedež kakor v Stridonu (današnja Štrigova) in v Cibali (Vinkovci), kjer je l. 304. že minolo »mnogo let«, kar je škof Evzebij pretrpel ondi mučeništvo.*
>
> *V Sirmiju so bili vsi pogoji, da postane metropola panonske cerkve: posredno apostolski izvor njegovega škof. sedeža – prvi, zgodovinsko več ali manj dognani škof v Sirmiju se namreč imenuje sv. Andronik, učenec apostola Pavla, okoli l. 56, – politična važnost in prometne zveze.*
>
> *Nasproti temu se Oglej niti daleč ne more primerjati Sremu.* […] *Kje je torej bolj naravno iskati matico panonsko-noriške cerkve: v Sremu, ki je vojna in civilna metropola celega Ilirika, ali pa v Akvileji, ki je v popolnoma drugi skupini rimskih pokrajin in v političnem oziru mesto nižje vrste kakor Srem?* (Kovačič, 1908, 5–6)

Glede na dejstvo, da je profesor filozofije na bogoslovni šoli odklanjal zamisel o »italijanskem« Ogleju kot matici petovionskega in s tem vsaj v predstavah svojega časa južnoštajerskega krščanstva, je nekoliko presenetljiv zaključek njegovega prispevka. V njem je namreč v (prezgodnjem) izginotju antičnega krščanstva in rimske oblasti ugledal temeljni razlog za zgodovinsko zamudništvo Slovencev:

> *Propast rimske omike in stare krščanske organizacije je vrezala globoke brazde v našo zgodovino. Ko bi se bila v naših krajih bolj utrdila in vzdržala rimska kultura ter ohranile stare škofije v Sremu, Ptuju in Celju, kakor je to bilo v Italiji in Galiji, bili bi menda mi danes slovansko-rimljanska mešanica nalik Francozom, a bili bi kulturno in politično samostojen narod. A naši pradedje so prišli v strahotno puščavo brez kakega duševnega ognjišča in središča. Dediščino razdejane stare panonske, sremske, ptujske in celjske cerkve podedujeta Solnograd in Oglej. S tem pa je bila naša usoda zapečatena, naša zgodovina gre po trnjevi poti.* (Kovačič, 1908, 19)

Nekoliko drugače se nam Kovačič predstavi v prispevku, v katerem je obravnaval čas ustanovitve ptujskega minoritskega samostana (Kovačič, 1927). Tukaj je bolj kot drzna kombinatorika v ospredju zgodovinarjevo kritično oko. Ko se poda na sled še dandanes občasno ponovljeni letnici ustanovitve 1239 (prim. zbornik Mlinarič & Vogrin, 1989), med drugim postavi pod vprašaj trditev o ustanovitvi samostana okoli leta 1230 pri Mateju Slekovcu: »V poljudni knjižici, kakor je ta, ki je le ponatis iz »Slovenskega Gospodarja«, ne moremo zahtevati dokumentacije za vsako trditev, tem manj, ker pisatelj ni imel namena, pisati samostansko zgodovino, vendar je obžalovati, da kot dober poznavalec ptujske zgodovine ni vsaj nekoliko konkretnejše obrazložil tega 'vse kaže', ker, kakor bomo videli, 'vse kaže' precej drugače.« (Kovačič, 1927, 153). Po Kovačičevo »vse kaže« namreč takole:

> *Po zmagi Rudolfa Habsburškega l. 1276. nastopijo razmere, ki so bile ugodne za ustanovitev minoritskega samostana v Ptuju. Iz občne cerkvene zgodovine je znano, da so bili minoriti goreči pristaši Rudolfa Habsburškega. Tudi dominikanci so bili njegovi pristaši, vendar v Ptuju so dominikanci preživeli dobo ogrske in češke vlade. Malo let poprej so Mongoli opustošili Ogrsko ter vničili tudi dominikancem njih samostane; zatočišče jim je bil potem najbližji Ptuj. Tako je verjetno bilo še ob Rudolfovi zavladi kaj Ogrov v ptujskem konventu. Temu je bilo treba najti protiutež.*[…]
>
> *Po vsem tem je torej edino utemeljeno postaviti začetek ptujskega minoritskega samostana med ll. 1271–1280, vsekako pa pred 1290.* (Kovačič, 1927, 159–160)

Podobno bistroumno najplodovitejši sodelavec Časopisa v nadaljevanju pojasni, kako so v ustanovitelja samostana napredovali pripadniki rodbine Walsee.

STAREJŠA ZGODOVINSKA OBDOBJA V ČASOPISU ZA ZGODOVINO IN NARODOPISJE DO LETA 1940

Potem ko je bilo nekaj besed namenjenih Francu Kovačiču, bo v nadaljevanju sledil zgolj kratek pregled pisanja v Časopisu za zgodovino in narodopisje o različnih področjih med letoma 1904 in 1940.

Začela bova z arheološkimi obdobji in antiko. Časopis pravzaprav razmeroma dolgo ni imel med dopisniki izrazitih strokovnjakov za staroveško zgodovino. Tako so področje arheoloških najdb in rimske zgodovine pokrivali kar drugi stalni pisci, najbolj sam Franc Kovačič (za zgled prim. Kovačič, 1904a; 1909a in 1909b). Že iz prve številke lahko za primer tovrstnega pisanja navedem odlomek iz prispevka Franca Zmazka o kraju najdbe znanih »negovskih čelad«: »Ker mi je okolica Sv. Benedikta dobro poznana, sem sklenil poizvedeti kraj in mesto, na katerem so leta 1811 izkopali imenovane čelade. […] Tu mi je neki mož izporočil: »Na Špindlerjevem posestvu (v Ženjaku) so pred davnim časom izkopali 'krono' in žena posestnika Franca Špindlerja je rekla: 'Moj prvi zakonski mož F. Urbančič mi je pripovedoval,

da so izkopali tam, kjer je sedaj naš püngrad v Ženjaku, orožje in soldaške kape.' […] Torej je izkopališče omenjenih čelad v Ženjaku na puši (viničariji) sedanjega posestnika Franca Špindlerja, kmeta v Obratu.« (Zmazek, 1904, 185–186).

Povsem drugačen je bil seveda že omenjeni Kovačičev članek o vlogi Petovione v južnoštajerski zgodovini, ki je obenem dobro nakazal, da bo Petoviona, kakor je z zemljepisnega vidika razumljivo, povsem v ospredju antiki posvečenih spisov v reviji. Njeni poznoantični cerkveni zgodovini se je posvetil tudi vodilni umetnostni zgodovinar prvih petnajstih letnikov Časopisa Avguštin Stegenšek (zanj prim. Friš & Matjašič Friš, 2007; Ciglenečki, 2007; Krajnc, 2007; Petermanec, 2020). Leta 1913 se je spopadel z likom petovionskega arijanskega protiškofa Julijana Valenta, kot ga je imenoval (za sodobno stanje diskusije o škofu prim. recimo Bratož, 2016, zlasti 180-182). Povod za to mu je dal poskus rehabilitacije tega škofa, ki je v graški *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* izšel leto poprej. Stegenšek škofu sicer ni hotel obesiti krivde za gotsko opustošenje Petovione, vendar je pribil: »Gotovo je torej, da je bil Julijan Valent kratko časa protiškof v Ptuju in da so ga smatrali za povod, da so Goti opustošili Ptuj. O pravi izdaji pa ne more biti govora, sicer bi ne bil zbežal pred oči državne oblasti v Milan. […] Bil je čuden mož. V Ptuju je nastopil z gotskimi lanci okoli vratu in zapestij, v Milanu pa je posvečeval kar tja v en dan svoje privržence. Oprati se torej nikakor ne da.« (Stegenšek, 1913, 7).

Kakor je bilo mimogrede omenjeno, sta sceno, kar zadeva antiko, po prvi svetovni vojni v reviji precej poživila Ptujčan Balduin Saria ki je tik pred vojno šele začel s prvimi arheološkimi koraki, in Hrvat Mihovil Abramić, ki ga je v vode štajerskega znanstvenega tiska pripeljala poroka. Oba vodilna sodelavca revije za stari vek sta se v glavnem posvečala arheološki in epigrafski problematiki, osrednja pozornost obeh pa je veljala Petovioni. Pri tem so bili Abramićevi prispevki praviloma obsežnejši (prim. Abramić, 1931; Abramić, 1933; Abramić, 1937), Sarievi po večini krajši (prim. denimo Saria, 1933; Saria, 1935; Saria, 1937).[3] Arheološkim temam se je precej posvečal še ormoški notar Viktor Skrabar (1877–1938). Ta je že leta 1909 postal konservator, leta 1911 pa dopisni član Inštituta za arheologijo na Dunaju (kot zgleda njegovih prispevkov navajava Skrabar, 1922, in Skrabar, 1935).

V drugi polovici tridesetih let se je med sodelavce štajerske revije opazneje vpisal iz Kranja izvirajoči nekdanji kustos ljubljanskega Rudolfina in štajerski deželni arheolog Walter Schhmid (1875–1951) s svojima prispevkoma o izkopavanjih na Ptuju (Schmid, 1935) in o tamkajšnjih najdbah, povezanih s krščanstvom (Schmid, 1936).

Pomemben je prispevek, pod katerega se je podpisal takrat vodilni slovenski paleontolog Srečko Brodar (1893–1987) in v njem natančno popisal raziskave pod svojim vodstvom v Potočki zijalki leta 1930. Brodar, tedaj zaposlen kot profesor naravoslovja v Celju, je svoje ugotovitve na podlagi izkopavanj povzel takole: »Torej geološko-paleontološki in klimatični razlogi, kakor tudi arheološki izvid izključujejo magdalensko dobo v Potočki zijalki in govoré za aurignaško. Toda pojavi se nov problem, ki ga bo treba šele razjasniti. Fauna aurignaških postaj

3 Podobno kratek je precej starejši Sariev zapis o Kodeksu 4493 dunajske dvorne knjižnice (Saria, 1922).

v Franciji in tudi drugod ima arkto-alpski značaj. […] Iz te zagate si moremo zaenkrat pomagati samo na ta način, da pomaknemo aurignaško dobo Potočke zijalke v prve početke te kulturne stopnje, čemur pa seveda zopet ugovarja lično izdelani inventar. Točna primerjava s švicarskimi visokoalpskimi postajami utegne prinesti razjasnitev tega problema. […] Odveč bi bilo torej še posebej govoriti o važnosti naše postaje za znanost.« (Brodar, 1931, 174).

Razdelku o arheologiji in starem veku v Časopisu lahko dodava pripombo o prispevkih, posvečenih numizmatiki, čeprav so ti iz antike že posegali tudi v srednji vek. Glavna poročevalca o tem sta bila eden zanimivejših mariborskih lokalnih zgodovinarjev v obdobju po prvi svetovni vojni, sodnik Vladimir Travner (1886–1940; prim. Travner, 1928) in vodja Mariborske tiskarne, v tržaški nemško govoreči družini rojeni Egon Baumgartner (1895–1951). Njegov najpomembnejši prispevek je bilo verjetno besedilo o kovnicah v Slovenj Gradcu in Kamniku (Baumgartner, 1933).

Razumljivo je, da sta bila srednji in zgodnji novi vek najbolj zastopana v predvojnem Časopisu (enako je bilo v novi vrsti). Vrsta omembe vrednih sodelavcev je bila kajpak dolga, zato bo moč navesti le nekaj imen. Povedano bodi, da sta prva letnika prinesla še dva prispevka prvega predsednika mariborskega Zgodovinskega društva, že pred izidom prve številke Časopisa umrlega Mateja Slekovca (1846–1903). Obe besedili sta se ukvarjali z zgodovino Ljutomera (Slekovec, 1904; Slekovec, 1905). V prvem letniku je Franc Kovačič v obsežnem posmrtnem zapisu Slekovčevo zgodovinsko delo sicer (nekoliko sladko-kislo) takole ovrednotil:

> *Kakor pri čebelah razločujemo dve vrsti delavk: ene, ki donašajo od raznih cvetlic snovi za strd in satovje, druge, ki iz nabrane tvarine izdelujejo toli umetne celice ter jih napolnjujejo z medom, tako nekako bi se dali razdeliti učeni delavci na zgodovinskem polju. Nekateri z neumorno delavnostjo zbirajo gradivo iz različnih arhivov, a ne dospejo, da bi to vse povezali v lepo celoto, drugi, ki imajo bolj urejevalen um ter širni in pronicavi pogled, vstvarjajo liki mozaike krasna zgodovinska dela. Našega Slekovca moramo prištevati prvi vrsti zgodovinarjev. V zasebnih pogovorih in v pismih je večkrat naravnost izrazil željo, naj bi kdo drug enkrat porabil nabrano gradivo, on sam da nima k temu nagnjenja in ne časa; njegova moč je bila vsa osredotočena v zbiranje tvarine.* (Kovačič, 1904b, 59)

O prispevkih Kovačiča samega s področja srednje- in zgodnjenovoveške zgodovine je že bil govor. Nemara kaže na tem mestu omeniti le še njegov najobsežnejši članek o gospodarski zgodovini dominikanskega samostana na Ptuju (Kovačič, 1913). S to ustanovo se je v tistih letih poznejši prelat tudi sicer zelo ukvarjal.

Ton je na omenjenem področju reviji vsaj v prvem desetletju verjetno dajal urednik Anton Kaspret (1850–1920; prim. Friš, 2013). V glavnem je obravnaval zgodovinska vprašanja iz 16. in 17. stoletja. Tako je v prvem letniku v uvodnem članku v zgodovini glasila pisal o podelitvi štajerskega deželnega maršalstva leta 1560 (Kaspret, 1904), nekoliko pozneje o ljubljanskem škofu Tomažu Hrenu in

Herbartu Turjaškem kot poslancih na splošnem deželnem zboru v Linzu 1614 (Kaspret, 1908). Za obe besedili je, kot sicer za pisanje v Časopisu za zgodovino in narodopisje v prvih desetletjih, značilno obsežno navajanje transliteriranih virov. Največji odmev je dolgoročno verjetno imel urednikov obsežni prispevek o stranpoteh Franja Tahija (Kaspret ga imenuje Tah), ki so povzročile veliki kmečki upor leta 1573, in boju njegovih potomcev za ohranitev oblasti nad Štatenbergom (Kaspret, 1909). Opisi Tahijevega ravnanja s podložniki (in morda zlasti podložnicami) so pozneje služili kot vir za literarne upodobitve.[4] To gotovo velja za Kaspretovo poročanje o ravnanju osovraženega plemiča in njegovih z lepšim spolom:

> *Toda Tah, njegovi razposajeni sinovi in služabniki so bili prvi, ki so zaslužili kazen radi pregreškov zoper javno nravnost.* […] *Na kakem glasu je bil Fran Tah v tem oziru, kaže ime, ki mu ga je kmet vzdel; naravnost ga imenuje: »Vzgled nesramnosti.« Oskrunjeval je mlade deklice in posiljeval ženske brez razločka stanu in starosti. Po izpovedi Ilje Gregoriča, glavnega poveljnika vstašev, je imel Fran Tah med drugim tudi to razvado. Kadar so kmetske hčerke in dekle na tlaki plele žito ali opravljale drugo poljsko delo, je prijezdil Fran Tah in si vsako dobro ogledal. Katera mu je dopadla, to je ukazal odvesti v grad. Tu se je morala sleči in okopati. Potem je ravnal z njo – po svoji volji. Če se je pa branila, jo je tako pretepal, dokler se mu ni udala. Samo iz ene graščini se je osebno pritožilo pri vladnih komisarjih štirinajst deklic, ki so bile žrtve Tahove pohotnosti. Vse druge krivice, muke in nasilstva bi še bili kmeti prenašali, samo posiljevanje in oskrunjevanje deklic jim je bilo neznosno.* (Kaspret, 1909, 83)

Tudi oče in sin Kos sta zaznamovala predvojni Časopis, kot je bilo mimogrede že rečeno. Oče Franc (1853–1924) je postregel bralcem z vrsto ocvirkov iz krajevne zgodovine (prim. Kos, 1919; Kos, 1920). Med drugim se je leta 1919 razpisal o rodbini Mariborskih (Kos, 1919, zlasti 99–101). Sin Milko je po drugi strani v reviji sodeloval skoraj tri desetletja. Opozoril sem na njegov mladeniški prispevek o slovenskih imenih v sekovski btatovščinski knjigi, toda to je bil šele začetek. Pozneje je mlajši Kos obdelal številna vprašanja od zgodnjega srednjega veka do izteka tega zgodovinskega obdobja. Tako je obravnaval podatke o zgodnjesrednjeveški zgodovini slovenskega prostora, kot jih je moč razbrati iz *Zgodovine Langobardov* Pavla Diakona (Kos, 1931), v leta 1933 izdanem Ptujskem zborniku pa oblikovanje madžarske meje na območju med Dravo in Rabo (Kos, 1933). V prvem omenjenem prispevku je svoje ugotovitve zgoščeno (in zelo vplivno) povzel takole:

> *Od odhoda Langobardov iz Panonije v Italijo leta 568. pa do časa kralja Sama (okoli 630), moremo torej podatke o prodiranju in naselitvi Slovencev razpredeliti na sledeči način: Okoli 580 okupacija okolišev nekdanjih škofo-*

4 Prim. zlasti dramo Bratka Krefta *Velika puntarija* (prvič objavljena 1935) in pesem Janeza Menarta *Spomin*.

vskih mest Celeje, Emone in Virunuma, okoli 590 tudi že Teurnije in mogoče dela aguntskega okoliša. Med 590 in 600 boji Slovencev in Obrov, mogoče v zgornji Dravski dolini. Okoli 600 prodiranje Slovencev preko bizantinske Istre (tržaški Kras) v Italijo. Okoli 611 (ali leta 611.) vpad Obrov (in Slovencev) v Furlanijo; ob istem času (leta 611.) naval Slovencev v bizantinsko Istro. Ob vzhodni meji furlanske ravnine organizirajo Langobardi obrambni »limes«, ob katerem se slovensko prodiranje in slovenska kolonizacija proti zapadu v teku 7. in v prvi polovici 8. stoletja ustavi in ustali. Okoli 623-626 je Ziljska dolina že »slovenski okraj«, ki ga pa Langobardi tja do Meglarij okupirajo. (Kos, 1931, 214–215)

Le malo pred prihodom druge svetovne vojne na območje Dravske banovine, septembra 1940, je Kos na drugem zborovanju slovenskih zgodovinarjev na Ptujski Gori spregovoril o stanju in nalogah kolonizacijske zgodovine. Referat je pozneje izšel v zadnji predvojni številki Časopisa (Kos, 1940). Glede na splošne razmere je zaključil domala borbeno: »Šele ob takem postopku se bomo mogli približati rešitvi glavne naloge, splošni zgodovini kolonizacije Slovencev in slovenske zemlje, ki bo med drugim pokazala, da se naš narod pred drugimi ni le umikal, marveč pokazal v toku svoje zgodovine tudi znatno kolonizatorično aktivnost in si s tem ohranil zemljo, na kateri biva še danes.« (Kos, 1940, 32).

Med dopisniki, ki so se skoraj izključno posvečali lokalni zgodovini srednjega in novega veka, je vredno ponovno spregovoriti predvsem o v zvezi s *Kovačičevim zbornikom* že izpostavljenem Josipu Mravljaku. Največ njegovih besedil je zadevalo domačo Vuzenico (Mravljak, 1927a; Mravljak, 1927b; Mravljak, 1928b; Mravljak, 1928c; Mravljak, 1931), veliko jih je namenil tudi bližnjim štajerskim in koroškim krajem (Mravljak, 1928a; Mravljak, 1933; Mravljak, 1936). Drugačen od ostalih člankov je prispevek, posvečen žičkemu rokopisu s češko velikonočno pesmijo, ki ga je Mravljak poiskal v graški univerzitetni knjižnici (v štajersko prestolnico naj bi iz Žič prišel 1782 ali 1783) in o katerem je pisal skupaj s Čehom Burianom (Mravljak & Burian, 1927). Svojo bližino Čehom je vuzeniški posestnik izpričal tudi, ko je skušal v tistih letih pri Slovencih priljubljenega češkega kralja Otokarja II. oprati krivde za domnevno mučno smrt lokalnega junaka iz Dravske doline Sifrida Marenberškega, ustanovitelja marenberškega samostana, v Pragi. Pri tem je postavil pod vprašaj verodostojnost osrednjega vira zanjo, *Rimane kronike* Otokarja iz Geule. Kar zadeva Sifrida, naj bi imeli opraviti s pretiranim izlivom pesniške fantazije, kajti:

Da je bil kralj Otokar strog vladar, je znano, in da se je zlasti štajersko plemstvo za interregna sila razpaslo in postalo samovoljno, je tudi znano. Da Otokar tem gospodom posadi glave zopet na prava mesta, je nekatere pač občutno kaznoval, jih vrgel v ječe, zaprl v gradove, morda tudi res postavil k sramotnemu stebru ali

> *jih dal privezati h konjskemu repu in jih vlačiti po Pragi.*[5] *Vse te grozovitosti, za katere je kronist zvedel, da so se zgodile raznim osebam, je v pesniški prostosti* […] *koncentriral na eno osebo, in ta je slučajno naš Sifrid Marenberški. Stvar sama pa najbrž ni bila tako tragična, saj nam listina Sifridove vdove Rikarde (26. II. 1272), iz katere prvič zvemo o Sifridovi smrti, niti z besedico ne namigne na kako nasilno smrt; nasprotno pa čujemo, da vzame kralj Otokar prav kmalu nato (22. IV. 1272) Sifridov marenberški samostan dominikank v svoje posebno varstvo.* (Mravljak, 1929, 204)

Otokar II. je torej po Mravljakovo zgolj dobrotnik najpomembnejše lokalne cerkvene ustanove, nikakor ne krvnik svetniške postave iz Dravske doline, nemški zgodovinarji pa naivni, ker verjamejo pesniku Otokarju, ki da v resnici ni hotel napisati kronike, marveč ep (prim. o *Rimani kroniki* kot viru Bele, 2015; Bele, 2019, in Bele, 2020).

Za konec razdelka bodi omenjeno, da je v Časopisu leta 1939 svoj prispevek objavil takrat komaj triindvajsetletni Bogo Grafenauer. Že tedaj se je ukvarjal s kmečkim uporom leta 1515, in sicer je širil znanje o poteku tega dogajanja na slovenskem Štajerskem (Grafenauer, 1939).

JEZIKOSLOVJE IN LITERARNA ZGODOVINA V ČASOPISU ZA ZGODOVINO IN NARODOPISJE

Bržčas ne bo pretirana ocena, da je v zgodovinopisnem delu Časopisa starejšim obdobjem pripadalo poglavitno mesto. Pri temah iz novejših zgodovinskih obdobij, tj. od 19. stoletja naprej, je po drugi strani kar težko potegniti ločnico med zgodovinskimi in literarnozgodovinskimi temami, zaradi česar jih bova tukaj obravnavala bolj ali manj združeno. A najprej nekaj besed o jezikoslovnih prispevkih v reviji. Ti so vseskozi ohranjali pomembno navzočnost in na področje jezikoslovja so posegali sploh od začetka velikokrat tudi zgodovinarji, denimo Kovačič in Stegenšek (prim. Kovačič, 1909a; Stegenšek, 1908). A prvo petletko glasila Zgodovinskega društva je v tem oziru daleč najbolj zaznamoval graški profesor slovenščine, vodilni zbiralec slovenskih ljudskih pesmi in avtor za življenja neobjavljene historične slovnice slovenskega jezika Karel Štrekelj (1859–1912; prim. za novejše poglede nanj Žejn, 2019). Njegovi prispevki o izbranih krajevnih imenih v slovenskem delu Štajerske (prim. Štrekelj, 1906, in nadaljevanja) ali o slovanskih prvinah v jeziku štajerskih Nemcev (Štrekelj, 1908), pa tudi njegove ocene knjig so skrbeli za izjemno visoko raven Časopisa. Omenjeno je posebej podčrtala avtoriteta Murkovega kova, ko je po Štrekljevi smrti zaradi tega zapel hvalnico tako piscu kot reviji: »Štrekljevo znanstveno delovanje se lahko spozna iz našega ‘Časopisa’, kajti vsak prvih osem letnikov prinaša eden ali več njegovih člankov, med njimi imenitne razprave o nekaterih slovenskih krajevnih imenih

5 Tako naj bi se po poročilu *Rimane kronike* godilo Sifridu Marenberškemu.

po nemškem (I. letu) in slovenskem (III.) Štajerju, in ‹Slovenski elementi v besednem zakladu štajerskih Nemcev› (V. in VI.). Teh razprav, ki so v posebno čast ‹Časopisu› in slovenski znanosti sploh, Štrekelj še dolgo ali morebiti nikoli ne bi napisal, ako bi se ni bilo osnovalo naše Zgodovinsko društvo in njegovo glasilo. Samo ta primer kaže, kaj sta vredni.« (Murko, 1912, 160).

Drugo plat medalje Štrekljevega pisanja za glasilo nekoliko, med vrsticami, osvetljuje že navajani Kovačičev jezni pripis k spominskemu zapisu za Antonom Kaspretom. Tam se dolgoletna duša Časopisa spominja Štrekljevega jeznoritega izstopa iz odbora Zgodovinskega društva in konca njegovega sodelovanja pri reviji. K temu ga je pravzaprav spodbudil nekrolog za Kaspretom izpod peresa še enega zvestega sotrudnika Časopisa, pravnega zgodovinarja Metoda Dolenca, ki je res rabil sočen jezik: »Deloma iz mržnje zoper filologijo sploh, deloma iz osebne protivnosti napram uredniku [Kaspretu], se je začela nekakšna agitacija zoper Štrekljeve spise in s tem tudi gonja zoper urednika Kaspreta; vsaj on sam je tako čutil. Vse to je dobilo sčasoma tako ostre oblike, da se je rahločutni Štrekelj pismeno odpovedal odborništvu zg. dr.« (Kovačič, 1921, 130). Takemu gledanju se je Kaspretov naslednik kajpak postavljal po robu, a v njegovem zapisu vseeno najdemo tudi tole: »V odborovi seji dne 6. jan. 1907 je društveni blagajnik R. Pipuš izrazil željo, »naj bi se v ‘Časopisu’ bolj oziralo na socijalno, politično in gospodarsko zgodovino.« […] Do kakega nesoglasja radi tega ni prišlo in nihče ni videl v tej izraženi želji kake gonje proti jezikoslovju, najmanj pa proti člankom prof. dr. Štreklja. Potem je o odborovi seji dne 19. nov. 1910 takratni zapisnikar dr. L. Pivko zapisal v zapisnik to-le: »Glede ‘Časopisa’ poroča dr. Verstovšek o splošni sodbi, da ima preveč jezikoslovne vsebine in premalo zgodovinskih razprav. V prihodnjih letih se naj omeji Č. le na članke o politični in socialno-kulturni zgodovini.« (Kovačič, 1921, 130).

Čeprav poskuša Kovačič kar najbolj zmanjšati pomen kritike na račun Štrekljevih prispevkov in čeprav vali krivdo za jezikoslovčev izstop iz odbora predvsem na Kaspretovo nediskretnost, je iz Verstovškovih besed vendarle sklepati, da pri velikem številu bralcev Kraševčeve suhoparne, natančne filološke analize niso naletele na plodna tla. Razlika med živahnim pripovednim slogom kakšnega Kovačiča in njegovim pisanjem je bila seveda opazna, kot lahko ponazori zgled Štrekljeve analize izvora krajevnega imena Bratonečice (Bratonečici).

> *V starejših listinah pred 1500 se kraj menda ne imenuje, ker Brathoscha (1500) ne spada morda k našemu imenu. Bratonečici je pokvarjeno iz Bratoněžiči, to je kraj, kjer ima svoje ljudi in domovanje Bratoněg, Srbom dobro znano ime, izpeljano od bratъ in něga ‘mož, ki skrbi za brata’. Iz Bratonežiči je nastalo vsled asimilacije soglasnika ž k nastopnemu č najprej Bratonečiči, kar se je ohranilo tudi v nemškem imenu; pozneje pa je začela delovati analogija po mnogih drugih tvorbah na ice, ker se je beseda mnogokrat rabila v tožilniku: ‘v Bratonečiče’ se je torej najprej premenilo ‘v Bratonečice’, zatem je c nastopil tudi v drugih padežih.* (Štrekelj, 1906, 46)

Iz podobnih razlogov je nekaj prahu v pionirskih letih Časopisa dvignil prispevek uglednega literarnega zgodovinarja Avgusta Žigona (1877–1941) o letnici 1833 v Prešernovih *Poezijah*. Žigonov spekulativni pristop k Prešernovi ustvarjalnosti ni naletel na topel sprejem pri mnogih bralcih (prim. Baš, 1939, 17).

Prvo ime pisanja o literarni in politični zgodovini 19. stoletja je v prvih petintridesetih letih vsaj, kar zadeva obseg opusa, nedvomno že navajani Kovačičev mlajši vrstnik Franc Ilešič (1871–1941). Njegova produktivnost je bila tako rekoč neverjetna, pri čemer je revijo z gradivom zalagal praktično ves čas predvojnega izhajanja. Njegove zgodnejše objave so se rade ustavljale ob obdobju jožefinizma, kjer je kazal precej simpatij do prizadevanj tedanjih reformatorjev, čeprav je opozarjal na zapostavljanje slovenščine (prim. Ilešič, 1904). Njegovo izjemno plodovitost kaže, denimo, njegovo sodelovanje v drugem letniku Časopisa. Prispeval je kar dva izjemno obsežna članka in še nekaj krajših poročil. V enem od člankov je posegel v politično zgodovino 19. stoletja in obravnaval boje med ilirsko in madžaronsko stranko na Hrvaškem leta 1848/49 (Ilešič, 1905a). V drugem, še obsežnejšem, je pisal o zgodnjem obdobju romantike na Štajerskem, predvsem o dejavnosti Antona Murka (Ilešič, 1905b). Nič manj temeljit ni bil naslednje leto prispevek o začetkih slovenske književnosti na Štajerskem, s katerim je (spet) posegel v 18. stoletje (Ilešič, 1906).

Po prvi svetovni vojni se je Ilešič sicer še posegal na ožje štajersko območje, kot priča prispevek o izvoru imen Maribor in Ljutomer, kjer se je zlasti dolgo zadržal pri genezi imena prestolnice štajerskih Slovencev. Njegov »rojstni dan« je opredelil takole: »Kdaj pa se torej prvič pojavlja ‘Maribor’? Jaz nahajam to slovensko ime prvič v Vrazovem pismu Gaju z dne 10. nov. 1836, ko mu govori o ‘Mariborskih tiskarnjah’ in o ‘Mariboru’. Vraz je od takrat stalno rabil to ime (- ‚burg‘ se nadomešča z – »bor«), kolebal mu je le še ‚i‘ v prvem delu besede.« (Ilešič, 1922, 77).

Stanko Vraz je bil nekakšen Ilešičev »ljubljenec« že od prvih objav, saj je že leta 1905 zapisal: »Duh ilirizma je zavel posebno po Slov. goricah, ki s svojih lozoslavnih brd odpirajo panoramo hrvatskega Zagorja, in dal Ilirom prvega pevca, Stanka Vraza.« (Ilešič, 1905a, 97) Nič čudnega ni, da je ob koncu dvajsetih in v začetku tridesetih let objavil serijo prispevkov o literarni zapuščini pesnika iz Cerovca v slovenščini (prim. začetek serije z Ilešič, 1927, in Ilešič, 1928).

Toda težišče zanimanja zagrebškega profesorja se je nekako premaknilo v raziskovanje stikov slovenskega kulturnega prostora s slovanskim, predvsem z zahodnoslovanskim. Že leta 1919, v prvem letniku po zamenjavi državnega okvirja, je pisal o češko-jugoslovanskih literarnih stikih in že leta 1924 je objavil prispevek o božičnih vražah med vzhodnopruskimi Mazurci (Ilešič, 1919; Ilešič, 1924). V tridesetih letih se je potem Ilešič precej ukvarjal z iskanjem zahodnoslovanskih vzorov za dejavnost in zlasti pisanje Antona Martina Slomška. Značilen prispevek iz omenjenega obdobja je besedilo o škofovem protialkoholnem boju. Zanimiv je oris selitve protialkoholne parabole, ki se je leta 1846 znašla v *Drobtinicah* in ima tam naslov *Vesela povest od svetiga Janža bratovščine*. O njej Ilešič ugotavlja: »Povest je označena kot ‚poslovenjena‘. Milieu je poljski. Tudi v jeziku povesti se nahajajo znaki poljskosti. […]

Spomnil sem se pri tem ‚vesele povesti' v ‚Drobtinicah', ki nas stavi tudi v Šlezijo, in sem poprosil – decembra 1928 – g. Londzina, da mi pošlje ono poljsko knjižico iz l. 1844. na vpogled. In drage volje mi jo je poslal ter mi obenem sporočil, da je nje avtor Jan Winkler, pastor v Nawsiu v tešinski Šleziji, po poreklu Čeh.« (Ilešič, 1931, 2).

Še v zadnjem letniku Časopisa pred vojno najdemo Ilešičevi besedili. Pisal je o štajerskem zgodovinarju Antonu Kremplu in orisal življenjepis ljutomerskega in ptujskega odvetnika Jakoba Ploja, očeta bolj znanega politika Miroslava (Ilešič, 1940a in b). Že v letu objave prispevkov je neumorni sotrudnik revije sklenil življenjsko pot.

Vodilni slovenski predvojni literarni zgodovinar France Kidrič je bil seveda v Časopisu dejaven precej manj kot Ilešič, a kljub temu se je njegovih prispevkov skozi leta nabralo kar nekaj. Največ se je v njih ukvarjal z obdobjem 16. in 17. stoletja, še posebej z besedili iz obdobja protireformacije in katoliške obnove (prim. Kidrič, 1924; Kidrič, 1934). Verjetno njegov najzanimivejši prispevek pa je že iz prvega desetletja izhajanja revije, ko je pisal o hrvaškem opisu obleganja in padca Sigeta, ki ga je znani slovenski protestantski intelektualec Samuel Budina (prim. o njem Simoniti, 2007, 209–217) prevedel v latinščino in nemščino. Kidrič opredeli kot hrvaški izvirnik, na podlagi katerega je nastal Budinov prevod, besedilo v glagolici, ki ga je leto poprej odkril Anton Kaspret. V nadaljevanju razprave, ki prinaša transliteracijo vira s komentarjem glede razmerja do Budinovega teksta, za avtorja razglasi Ferenca Črnka, udeleženca sigetske obrambe iz okolice Zrinskih (Kidrič, 1912).

Nekje od druge polovice dvajsetih let je začel literarnozgodovinski del revije odločilno sodoločati poznejši sourednik glasila Janko Glaser. Podobno kot prej Ilešič se je oglašal domala v vsaki številki. Obzorje njegovih zanimanj je bilo široko. Posegal je v kulturno in literarno zgodovino 19. stoletja (prim. Glaser, 1927; Glaser, 1928), kjer je tudi njega pritegoval Slomšek (prim. Glaser, 1939). Kot že omenjeno, se je v *Kovačičevem zborniku* ukvarjal z zgodovino mariborskih tiskarn. Ožje literarnozgodovinski ali celo komparativistični so njegovi prispevki, predvsem z začetka tridesetih let, v katerih je analiziral literarne vplive na nekatere slovenske književnike (Glaser, 1930; Glaser, 1932).

Naj navrževa samo še, da je vseslovensko veljavo Časopisa potrjevalo dejstvo, da je v njem referenčno študijo o jeziku Brižinskih spomenikov priobčil tedaj še mladi Rajko Nahtigal (1914). Prav tako je na strani revije kot ena njenih redko posejanih ženskih sodelavk stopila takratna vzhajajoča zvezda slovenske literarne zgodovine Mar(i)ja Boršnik, ki je leta 1935 pripravila zvezek s temeljito bibliografijo Antona Aškerca, objavljeno ob osemdesetletnici pesnikovega rojstva. Izšla je kot poseben zvezek revije (Boršnik, 1935).

NEKROLOGI, SPOMINSKI ZAPISI IN OCENE KNJIG

Nespregledljiv del vsake številke Časopisa so bili tudi spominski zapisi za umrlimi sodelavci ali o jubilantih, čeprav so bili zadnji spočetka redkost. Kot je bilo razvidno iz prejšnjih razdelkov, danes ti nekrologi precej pripomorejo k rekonstrukciji zgodovine revije. Zato smo po njih s pridom posegali že doslej.

Veliko delo je Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje nadalje opravil z obveščanjem kulturne javnosti o novih knjižnih publikacijah ali odmevnih objavah v drugih revijah. Temu je bilo v vsakem snopiču namenjenega precej prostora. Kot ni bilo možno niti vsaj približno zajeti celotne vsebine osrednjega dela revije in vseh znanstvenih področij, s katerimi so se ukvarjali avtorji, je to še toliko manj mogoče ob nepregledni množici presoj objav. Zato bova na tem mestu skicirala zgolj bolj ali manj naključno izbrane zglede.

Leta 1909 je Avguštin Stegenšek vzel pod lupo svežo obsežno monografijo o Celju v nemščini in izpod peresa Andreasa Guba. Recenzent je sicer pohvalil obilico nabranega gradiva, »dvoje pa pogrešamo: natančnosti in poglobljenja« (Stegenšek, 1909, 180). Nekritično navdušenje nemških listov nad monografijo naj ne bi bilo nenavadno, »saj za najnovejše dogodke pisatelj ni toliko zgodovinar ko političen referent pretirano nemškonarodne in svobodomiselne struje« (Stegenšek, 1909, 180). Da se avtorjeva svobodomiselnost kaže v brezbrižnem, celo posmehljivem odnosu do verskih zadev, duhovnika Stegenška seveda najbolj zbode. Tako Gubu oponese: »Nemško Marijino cerkev, ki je vendar za večino njegovih bralcev versko središče, omeni sicer, a je ne opiše kakor druge, niti ne poda njene slike, pač pa ono novega protestantskega templja.« (Stegenšek, 1909, 182). Nazadnje se spotakne še ob Gubovo neznanje slovenščine, ki da mu onemogoča uporabo slovenske literature.

Razmerje med nemštvom in slovenstvom na Štajerskem je kajpak ostajalo aktualno ves čas predvojnega izhajanja revije. Tudi očitek o neznanju slovenščine so lahko recenzenti obesili skoraj vsakemu nemško govorečemu zgodovinarju, ki je o tem pisal. Eden redkih, ki si je kljub tej pomanjkljivosti prislužil vsaj blago pohvalo, je bil Hugo Suette s svojo disertacijo o nacionalnih bojih na spodnjem Štajerskem med 1867 in 1897. Recenzent Franjo Baš je resda ocenil, da bo njegova obravnava problematike »ostala pomembna pač za sliko posavskih narodnostnih bojev; sicer pa bo predstavljala fragmentarno zbrano gradivo za Podravje in Pomurje in to za dobo, ki ne predstavlja zgodovinske enote«. Toda zaključil je sploh z ozirom na tematiko besedila precej dobrohotno: »Kljub vsemu pa med disertacijami, ki v tujini obravnavajo specialna naša vprašanja, zasluži Suettejeva po stvarnosti, s katero dogodke obravnava, in po dobri volji, s katero gradivo izrablja, eno prvih mest.« (Baš, 1936, 150).

Presojevalci Časopisa so se občasno ustavljali tudi ob literarnih delih z zgodovinsko tematiko. Tako je Matija Ljubša ocenil roman Anne Wambrechtsamer *Danes grofje Celjski in nikdar več* (Ljubša, 1934). Wambrechtsamerjeva sama je, kot mimogrede omenjava, za revijo skupaj s Francem Kovačičem napisala članek o svojem rojstnem planinskem gradu (Wambrechtsamer & Kovačič, 1932). Franjo Baš je po drugi strani leta 1938 zavrnil nekatere interpretacije zgodovine iz drame *Velika puntarija* Bratka Krefta oziroma iz avtorjevega predgovora k njej: »Odkloniti pa je treba njegovo pojmovanje kmetskega gibanja, ki se je pojavilo po Kreftu kot posledica obrambe agrarnega fevdalca proti dvigajočemu se meščanu, kateri je po Kreftu tudi sodeloval s kmetom. Proti temu je treba

ugotoviti, da se po Kreftu naznačeni meščanski razvoj vrši dejansko 200–300 let pred kmetskimi gibanji in da je v času kmetskih uporov zlasti naše meščanstvo že vključeno v fevdalno družbo. [...] Težave za posameznika so gotovo najbolj jasne Kreftu samemu, ki je mogel zato uspeti samo v mnogih podrobnostih, ki pa se je pri zaključkih namesto v sintezo usmeril zopet v podrobnosti, zlasti glede tujine, in jih generaliziral.« (Baš, 1938, 46).

SKLEP

Velikokrat sva se že posipala s pepelom, češ da je nemogoče podati kakršno koli vsaj približno pravično sliko pisanja Časopisa za zgodovino in narodopisje na omejenem prostoru, ki je na voljo. Še manj je mogoče kakor koli ustrezno pristopiti k posameznim avtorskim osebnostim, ki so mu dajali pečat. Zato je razumljivo, da je v pričujočem besedilu izpostavljeno zgolj eno ime, ime Franca Kovačiča.

Mogoče pa je celo na podlagi tako omejenega pregleda vsaj na prvo žogo premisliti, kdo je revijo ustvarjal in kaj je pomenila v slovenskem znanstvenem prostoru pred drugo svetovno vojno. Pri tem je treba seveda upoštevati tudi spremembo državnega okvira, ki je v kakšni točki dramatično spremenila pomen zaveze, da bo časopis »patriotično podjetje«. Vendar se skozi vseh petintrideset letnikov kot rdeča nit vleče ugotovitev, da priteguje v spočetka na zunaj še zelo nemško obarvanem Mariboru izhajajoče glasilo vse večjo pozornost zgodovinarjev in v širšem smislu kulturnikov iz vsega slovenskega etničnega prostora. V njem si novinci v znanosti podajajo roko z uveljavljenimi avtoritetami in ob koncu obdobja priobčijo svoje prve korake v visoko znanost sodelavci, ki potem slovensko znanstveno in kulturno snovanje po svoji podobi oblikujejo še tja v osemdeseta leta 20. stoletja. V poznih dvajsetih in tridesetih letih istega stoletja po drugi strani na sceno odločilno stopijo tisti avtorji, ki so postali nosilci obnove revije v šestdesetih letih.

Je pa bil predvojni Časopis v nekem smislu še bolj od svojega povojnega nadaljevalca v resnici prostor, v katerem je živela pestrost celotne predvojne slovenske humanistične znanosti. Kot so mnogi poudarjali, je namreč duši publikacije Francu Kovačiču uspelo pod eno streho zbrati sodelavce vseh nazorskih usmeritev in taborov, kar je v reviji vseskozi razvidno. V povojnih razmerah tolikšne raznolikosti v javnem prostoru kajpak ni smelo ali moglo biti.

V prihodnje bi bilo gotovo koristno ugotovitve o vsebinskem profilu *Časopisa za zgodovino in narodopisje* primerjati z zasnovami revij iz primerljivih prostorov, denimo iz nemško govorečega dela Štajerske in Koroške ali s Hrvaške.

LEARNING YEARS OF SLOVENIAN HUMANITIES IN MARIBOR: THE FIRST THREE DECADES OF *ČASOPIS ZA ZGODOVINO IN NARODOPISJE* (JOURNAL FOR HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHY)

Aleš MAVER

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Koroška cesta 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenia

e-mail: ales.maver@um.si

Darko FRIŠ

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Koroška cesta 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenia

e-mail: darko.fris@um.si

SUMMARY

The Journal for History and Ethnography (Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje) was established in 1904 as a scientific publication of the new Slovenian historical society for the Lower Styria in Maribor. It is regarded as an important pillar of early scholarship in Slovene language in Styria which was previously dominated by periodic publications in German language. The main aim of the present article is a brief analysis of contents of the journal during the first period of its publishing (1904–1940), since the history of Časopis was interrupted for 25 years due to the Nazi occupation of Styria in 1941, only to be reestablished in the 1960s. The starting point of our analysis is the 32th volume of the journal, dedicated to one of the Časopis' founder and its main contributor, the priest Franc Kovačič. This jubilee volume enables us to sketch a panoramic view of the first three decades of the journal's history. It shows the pretty broad span of included topics as well as its respected position in the Slovene scientific area of the late pre-WWII period. In the core part of the paper, contributions by Franc Kovačič are considered in some detail, to be followed by very brief analysis of several highlights of the journal's contents during the discussed period. The papers on the medieval and early modern history of the Slovene ethnic territory as well as contributions by the prolific scholar Franc Ilešič are focal points of this part. The controversies, regarding scientific level of the published papers, where differences between Kovačič and first editor of the journal, Anton Kaspret, seem to be particularly sharp, are also mentioned. Based on the limited of the considered material, it can be concluded that The Journal for History and Ethnography remained true to the purpose, sketched in the time of its establishment in 1904, and secured a prominent place in Slovenian scholarship of the prewar period.

Keywords: Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, Franc Kovačič, scientific journals in Slovenia, Lower Styria, Franc Ilešič, Anton Kaspret, editorial policy, Slovenian historiography

VIRI IN LITERATURA

Abramić, M. (1931): Novi natpisi iz Poetovija. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 26, 177–202.

Abramić, M. (1933): Opaske o nekim spomenicima staroga Poetovija. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 28, 129–143.

Abramić, M. (1937): O predstavama Ilira na antiknim spomenicima. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 32, 7–19.

Baš, F. (1936): Suette Hugo, Der nationale Kampf in der Südsteiermark 1867 bis 1897. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 31, 149–151.

Baš, F. (1938): Kreft, Bratko. Velika puntarija: Kronika iz l. 1573. v petih dejanjih. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 33, 46.

Baš, F. (1939): Prelat dr. Fran Kovačič. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 34, 1–38.

Baumgartner, E. (1933): Kovnici Slovenjgradec in Kamnik v dobi Andechs-Merancev. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 28, 17–35.

Bele, M. (2015): Slovenian Styria in the narrative sources of 13th century. Acta Histriae, 23, 4, 655–674.

Bele, M. (2019): Štajerski deželni grb in njegovi začetki v 12. in 13. stoletju. Studia Historica Slovenica, 19, 3, 631–652.

Bele, M. (2020): Did he really do it? Frederick V of Ptuj – coward or victim? V: Lazarini, F. & T. Košak (ur.): Likovna umetnost v habsburških deželah med cenzuro in propagando = Visual arts in Habsburg lands between censorship and propaganda. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, 11–24.

Boršnik, M. (1935): Aškerčeva bibliografija. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 30, 4. snopič.

Bratož, R. (1986): Krščanstvo v Ogleju in na vzhodnem vplivnem območju oglejske Cerkve od začetkocv do nastopa verske svobode. Ljubljana, Teološka fakulteta, Inštitut za zgodovino Cerkve; Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete.

Bratož, R. (2014): Med Italijo in Ilirikom. Slovenski prostor in njegovo sosedstvo v pozni antiki. Ljubljana, Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete; Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije; SAZU.

Bratož, R. (2016): Bischofssitze und Kirchenorganisation in Slowenien«, V: Strobel, K. & H. Dolenz (ur.): Neue Ergebnisse zum frühen Kirchenbau im Alpenraum. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums Klagenfurt 6.–7. Dezember 2013. Graz (Gradec), Unipress, 173–196.

Breznik, A. (1919): + O. Stanislav Škrabec. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 15, 153–157.

Brodar, S. (1931): Raziskavanja v Potočki zijalki in nje problemi. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 26, 153–176.

Burian, V. (1929): Josip Dobrovský (1753 + 6. 1. 1829). Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 24, 137–142.

Burian, V. (1933): Kopitar kot inspirator in propagator prvih Vukovih zbirk narodnih pesmi. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 28, 1–17.

Ciglenečki, M. (2007): Stegenškovo umetnostnozgodovinsko delo. Studia Historica Slovenica, 7, 3–4, 591–635.

Čeh Steger, J. (2020): Oton Župančič in začetki južnoslovanske tvorbe. Studia Historica Slovenica, 20, 1, 227–252.

Dolar, A. (1934): Prof. dr. Karol Glaser: Obris življenja in dela. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 29, 1–54.

Dolar, A. (1937): Koroški plebiscit in načelo paritete. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 32, 248–255.

Friš, D. (2013): Anton Kaspret in Franc Kovačič – uredništvo Časopisa za zgodovino in narodopisje. Studia Historica Slovenica, 13, 1, 21–42.

Friš, D. (2018): Maribor po prevratu in vladni komisar dr. Josip Leskovar. Studia Historica Slovenica, 18, 1, 191–216.

Friš, D. & N. Gostenčnik (2018): Dr. Alojzij Juvan – drugič na čelu mariborske mestne občine (1935–1941). Acta Histriae, 26, 1, 181–206.

Friš, D. & M. Matjašič Friš (2007): Avguštin Stegenšek (1875–1920) in njegov čas. Studia Historica Slovenica, 7, 3–4, 471–488.

Glaser, J. (1927): Donesek k poglavju o naših jožefincih in redemptoristih. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 22, 195–196.

Glaser, J. (1928): Anton Lah in njegova ‚Družba slovenskega branja v Lembahi'. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 23, 53–64.

Glaser, J. (1930): Literarne predloge in paralele. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 25, 98–105.

Glaser, J. (1932): Literarne predloge in paralele. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 27, 104–107.

Glaser, J. (1939): Doslej neznana Slomškova pesem. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 34, 205–206.

Grafenauer, B. (1939): Potek vseslovenskega kmečkega upora l. 1515. na Spodnjem Štajerskem. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 34, 145–162.

Griesser Pečar, T. (2019): Slovensko slovo od Habsburžanov. Studia Historica Slovenica, 19, 2, 301–331.

Griesser Pečar, T. (2020): Prvo povojno leto v Evropi in svetu. Studia Historica Slovenica, 20, 2, 335–358.

Grivec, F. (1937): Slovenski knez Kocelj, učenec in pokrovitelj sv. Cirila in Metoda. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 32, 46–52.

Ilešič, F. (1904): O slovenskem Štajerju v jožefinski dobi. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 1, 113–158.

Ilešič, F. (1905a): Iz borbe med ‚ilirsko' in madžarofilsko stranko leta 1848./49. (Prispevek k zgodovini teh let.). Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 2, 97–136.

Ilešič, F. (1905b): Iz prvih časov romantike. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 2, 1–68.

Ilešič, F. (1906): Početki štajersko-slovenske književnosti v 18. stoletju. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 3, 1–32.

Ilešič, F. (1919): Češko-jugoslovanske literarne paralele in odvisnosti. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 15, 1–23.

Ilešič, F. (1922): Maribor in Ljutomer. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 17, 76–88.

Ilešič, F. (1924): Božična praznoverja v Mazurih. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 20, 108–110.

Ilešič, F. (1927): Iz Vrazove literarne zapuščine. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 22, 32–61.

Ilešič, F. (1928): Iz Vrazove literarne zapuščine. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 23, 101–115.

Ilešič, F. (1931): Anton Martin Slomšek v pokretu proti pijančevanju (O knjigi: ‚Čujte, čujte, kaj žganje dela!'). Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 26, 1–22.

Ilešič, F. (1940a): Drobiž o Antonu Kremplu. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 35, 70–71.

Ilešič, F. (1940b): Ljutomerski in ptujski advokat dr. Jakob Ploj. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 35, 74–78.

Kaspret, A. (1904): O podelitvi deželnega maršalstva na Štajerskem l. 1560. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 1, 3–21.

Kaspret, A. (1908): Navodilo kranjskima poslancema škofu T. Hrenu in Herbartu Turjaškemu za obči deželni zbor v Linzu leta 1614. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 5, 168–176.

Kaspret, A. (1909): Tiranstvo graščaka Frana Taha in njegovega sina Gabriela: Donesek k zgodovini kmetske vojne l. 1573. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 6, 70–108.

Kačičnik, A. (2007): Kovačičeva življenjska pot. Bogoslovni vestnik, 67, 2, 175–191.

Kidrič, F. (1912): Oblega Sigeta v sodobnem hrvaškem opisu. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 9, 42–97.

Kidrič, F. (1924): Doneski škofa Hrena za zgodovino reformacije na Slovenskem. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 19, 20–24.

Kidrič, F. (1934): Odgovor na članek ‚Mrčenik' = Polidor de Montagnana. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 29, 62–63.

Kos, F. (1919): Doneski za krajevne kronike. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 15, 85–110.

Kos, F. (1920): Doneski za krajevne kronike. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 16, 1–14.

Kos, M. (1913): Slovenska imena v Liber confraternitatum Seccoviensis. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 10, 8–25.

Kos, M. (1931): K poročilom Pavla Diakona o Slovencih. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 26, 202–216.

Kos, M. (1933): K postanku ogrske meje med Dravo in Rabo. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 28, 144–153.

Kos, M. (1940): Stanje in naloge slovenske kolonizacijske zgodovine. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 35, 26–32.

Kovačič, F. (1904a): Rimske najdbe pri Zrečah. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 1, 196–197.

Kovačič, F. (1904b): V spomin Mateju Slekovcu. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 1, 52–69.

Kovačič, F. (1908): Petovij v zgodovini Južne Štajerske. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 5, 1–22.

Kovačič, F. (1909a): Iz prazgodovine središkega trga. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 6, 40–52.

Kovačič, F. (1909b): Izkopavanje v Središču. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 6, 176–185.

Kovačič, F. (1913): Gospodarska zgodovina dominikanskega samostana v Ptuju. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 10, 59–120.

Kovačič, F. (1921): Anton Kaspret +. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 16, 128–135.

Kovačič, F. (1927): K starejši zgodovini minoritskega samostana v Ptuju. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 22, 149–168.

Kralj Aleksander (1934): Kralj Aleksander I. + Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 29, 98–99.

Krajnc, S. (2007): Osebnost in poslanstvo Avguština Stegenška (1875–1920). Studia Historica Slovenica, 7, 3–4, 489–511.

Ljubša, M. (1934): Wambrechtsamer Anna: Heut Grafen von Cilly und nimmermehr: Historischer Roman. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 29, 79–81.

Matjašič Friš, M. (2009): Dr. Franc Kovačič – ustanovitelj in sodelavec revije Voditelj v bogoslovnih vedah. Studia Historica Slovenica, 9, 2–3, 615–632.

Mikl Curk, I. (1974): Balduin Saria in slovenska arheologija. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 45 (= 10), 217–218.

Mithans, G. (2020): Religious Communities and the Change of Worldviews in Slovenia (1918–1991): Historical and Political Perspectives. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 30, 3, 415–434.

Mlinar, J. (2019): Balduin Saria (1893–1974): „ein deutschsprachiger Sohn der Untersteiermark“. V: Hruza, K. (ur.): Österreichische Historiker. Lebensläufe und Karrieren 1900–1945. Band 3. Wien, Weimar, Köln, Böhlau, 379–403.

Mlinarič, J. & M. Vogrin (ur.) (1989): Minoritski samostan na Ptuju 1239–1989. Celje, Mohorjeva družba.

Mravljak, J. (1927a): Bratovščina splavarjev v Vuzenici. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 22, 86–88.

Mravljak, J. (1927b): Vuzeniški urbarji (Donesek h gospodarski zgodovini). Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 22, 61–75.

Mravljak, J. (1928a): Muta. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 23, 42–52.

Mravljak, J. (1928b): Osemletna pravda (1636–1644) med Gregorjem Tavčmanom in Saro Hayd (Vuzenica-Ribnica-Puhenštajn). Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 23, 64–70.

Mravljak, J. (1928c): Šajkarstvo v Vuzenici. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 23, 76–78.

Mravljak, J. (1929): Marenberg 1257/59 in 1272, dvoje spornih vprašanj. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 24, 200–204.

Mravljak, J. (1931): Iz vuzeniške zgodovine. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 26, 110–114.

Mravljak, J. (1933): Početki Guštanja. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 28, 40–46.

Mravljak, J. (1936): K zgodovini uprave Šentpavelske posesti na Fali. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 31, 126–129.

Mravljak, J. & V. Burian (1927): Žički rokopis. Češka velikonočna pesem. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 22, 190–193.

Murko, M. (1912): + Karel Štrekelj. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 9, 160.

Nahtigal, R. (1914): Freisigensia. Doneski k razlagi jezika Brižinskih spomenikov. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 11, 1–12.

Perovšek, J. (2018): Misel o Sloveniji in njeno udejanjenje v času od Majniške deklaracije do oblikovanja Države SHS in Narodne vlade SHS v Ljubljani. Studia Historica Slovenica, 18, 2, 421–442.

Perovšek, J. (2020): Politični položaj na Slovenskem leta 1919. Studia Historica Slovenica, 20, 2, 359–394.

Petermanec, Z. (ur.) (2020): Avguštin Stegenšek (1875–1920). Ob stoletnici smrti. Maribor, Univerza v Mariboru, Univerzitetna založba.

Predgovor (1904): Predgovor. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 1, 1–2.

Rahten, A. (2020a): Koroška po plebiscitu: revanšizem, revizionizem in pregoni v poplebiscitnih mesecih. Studia Historica Slovenica, 20, 2, 565–595.

Rahten, A. (2020b): Po razpadu skupne države. Slovensko-avstrijska razhajanja od mariborskega prevrata do koroškega plebiscita. Celje, Celjska Mohorjeva družba; Celovec, Mohorjeva družba; Gorica, Goriška Mohorjeva družba.

Repe, B. (2020): Nastanek slovenske univerze. Studia Historica Slovenica, 20, 2, 459–486.

Saria, B. (1922): Donesek k zgodovini turških in ogrskih napadov. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 17, 39–40.

Saria, B. (1933): Nova raziskavanja po stari Poetoviji. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 28, 119-128.

Saria, B. (1935): Saxanu posvečen napisni iz Šmartna na Pohorju. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 30, 62–65.

Saria, B. (1937): Spomeniki egiptovskih božanstev v Poetoviju. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 32, 20–28.

Saria, B. (1974): Pregled topografije Poetovia. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 45 (= 10), 219–226.

Schmid, W. (1935): Poetovio: Raziskavanja Muzejskega društva v Ptuju jeseni 1935. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 30, 129–157.

Schmid, W. (1936): Ptujske krščanske starožitnosti. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 31, 97–115.

Simoniti, P. (2007): Med humanisti in starimi knjigami. Ljubljana, Slovenska matica.

Skrabar, V. (1922): Ruški mitrej. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 17, 15–20.

Skrabar, V. (1935): Stara ledinska karta v ormoškem gradu. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 30, 30–44.

Slekovec, M. (1904): Grad in graščina ljutomerska. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 1, 159–184.

Slekovec, M. (1905): Oskrbniki ljutomerske graščine. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 2, 73–76.

Stegenšek, A. (1908): O Veliki Nedelji in podobnih krajevnih imenih. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 5, 23–37.

Stegenšek, A. (1909): Geschichte der Stadt Cilli vom Ursprung bis auf die Gegenwart Von Andreas Gubo. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 6, 179–182.

Stegenšek, A. (1913): Julijan Valens, ptujski protiškof. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 10, 1–7.

Stegenšek, A. & F. Kovačič (1922): Historični portreti na oltarni podobi župne cerkve na Črni ali Ptujski gori. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 17, 57–76.

Štih, P. & V. Simoniti (2009): Na stičišču svetov. Slovenska zgodovina od prazgodovinskih kultur do konca 18. stoletja. Ljubljana, Modrijan.

Štrekelj, K. (1906): Razlaga nekaterih imen po slovenskem Štajerju I. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 3, 41–64.

Štrekelj, K. (1908): Slovanski elementi v besednem zakladu štajerskih Nemcev. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 5, 38–103.

Štuhec, M. (2020): Kulturnopolitične in jezikovnopolitične razmere na Slovenskem ob koncu prve svetovne vojne. Studia Historica Slovenica, 20, 1, 205–225.

Travner, V. (1928): Grški, rimski in bizantinski novci mariborskega muzeja. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 23, 216–223.

Vidmar, P. (2020): Sestop Habsburžanov in avstro-ogrskih junakov s piedestala. Prispevek k slovenizaciji javnega prostora Maribora in sosednjih mest leta 1919. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 20, 4, 679–700.

Vrbnjak, V. (2003): Zgodovinsko društvo v Mariboru 1903–2003. Maribor, Pokrajinski arhiv.

Wambrechtsamer, A. & F. Kovačič (1932): Planina in njeni gospodarji. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 27, 65–80.

Zelko, I. (1934): K bibliografiji del Mikloša Küzmiča. Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 29, 64–68.

Zmazek, F. (1904): Kje so bile izkopane ‚negovske čelade'? Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 1, 185–186.

Žejn, A. (2019): Znani in neznani dialektolog Karel Štrekelj. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 29, 2, 171–186.

Received: 2021-11-15 DOI 10.19233/AH.2021.42

SLOVENSKA POLITIČNA EMIGRACIJA SKOZI OČI SLUŽBE DRŽAVNE VARNOSTI V ŠESTDESETIH LETIH

Darko FRIŠ
Univerza v Mariboru, Filozofska fakulteta, Koroška cesta 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenija
e-mail: darko.fris@um.si

Gregor JENUŠ
Ministrstvo za kulturo, Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Sektor za varstvo arhivskega gradiva posebnih arhivov, Zvezdarska 1, 1002 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: gregor.jenus@gov.si

Ana ŠELA
Univerza v Mariboru, Filozofska fakulteta, Koroška cesta 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenija
e-mail: ana.sela1@um.si

IZVLEČEK

Služba državne varnosti oz. pred letom 1967 Uprava državne varnosti, slovenska tajna politična policija, je nad slovensko emigracijo, še zlasti politično, izvajala konstanten nadzor. Slovenska tajna politična policija je ocenjevala, da so bili politični emigranti razdeljeni na več heterogenih skupin, ki naj bi si med seboj močno nasprotovale; družilo naj bi jih splošno sovraštvo proti Socialistični federativni republiki Jugoslaviji. Avtorji v pričujočem prispevku na podlagi povečini še neobjavljenega arhivskega gradiva, ki ga hrani Arhiv Republike Slovenije, skozi oči slovenske politične policije v šestdesetih letih predstavijo za jugoslovansko oblast „sovražne“ organizacije slovenske politične emigracije, pojasnijo metode in način spremljanja njihove dejavnosti, ki so bile izražene zlasti skozi Jugoslaviji „sovražen“ propagandni tisk.

Ključne besede: politična emigracija, slovenski emigrantski tisk, Služba/Uprava državne varnosti, Socialistična republika Slovenija

L'EMIGRAZIONE POLITICA SLOVENA ATTRAVERSO GLI OCCHI DEL SERVIZIO DI SICUREZZA DI STATO NEGLI ANNI SESSANTA

SINTESI

Il Servizio di sicurezza dello Stato (Uprava državne varnosti e dal 1967 Služba državne varnosti), la polizia politica segreta slovena, esercitava un controllo costante sull'emigrazione slovena, soprattutto quella politica. La polizia politica segreta slove-

na stimava che gli emigranti politici erano divisi in diversi gruppi eterogenei e che si opponevano fortemente l'un l'altro; inoltre, che avessero un odio comune per la Repubblica Federale Socialista di Jugoslavia, Nel presente articolo, sulla base di materiale archivistico per lo più inedito conservato dall'Archivio della Repubblica di Slovenia, gli autori presentano attraverso gli occhi del Servizio di sicurezza di Stato degli anni Sessanta le organizzazioni dell'emigrazione politica slovena «ostili», spiegano i metodi e le modalità di monitoraggio delle loro attività, le quali veniva espresse soprattutto attraverso la stampa propagandistica «ostile» alla Jugoslavija.

Parole chiave: emigrazione politica, stampa dell'emigrazione slovena, Servizio/Amministrazione della sicurezza dello Stato, Repubblica Socialista di Slovenia

UVOD[1]

Služba državne varnosti (SDV) oz. pred letom 1967 Uprava državne varnosti (UDV), slovenska tajna politična policija, je nad slovensko emigracijo, še zlasti politično – ki so jo delili na zmerno, lojalno in ekstremno – izvajala konstanten nadzor. Slovenska tajna politična policija je ocenjevala, da so bili politični emigranti razdeljeni na več heterogenih skupin z različnimi ideološkimi platformami, ki naj bi si med seboj močno nasprotovale. Družilo naj bi jih splošno sovraštvo proti Socialistični federativni republiki Jugoslaviji, ki je vzpodbujalo nastanek ekstremnega nacionalizma, separatizma, antikomunizma. O takšnem odnosu je izšlo že nekaj znanstvenih besedil (prim. Drnovšek, 1998; Drnovšek, 2004; Pirjevec, 2006; Ramšak, 2010; Šela & Friš, 2017; Friš & Hazemali, 2017; Griesser Pečar, 2018; Šela & Matjašič Friš, 2019; Šela & Hazemali, 2020), v pričujočem članku pa je predstavljen pogled na „sovražno“ emigracijo v šestdesetih letih z namenom prispevati k pojasnjevanju preteklosti na osnovi znanstveno-raziskovalnega pristopa do naslovne tematike. Izbrali smo obdobje šestdesetih let, saj so se tedaj bolj odprle jugoslovanske meje, s čimer se je število emigrantov močno povečalo; hkrati so emigranti zaradi vse ostrejšega razkola med vzhodnim in zahodnim blokom ter porastom protikomunističnih idej na Zahodu vedno glasneje izražali ideje o spremembi tedanjega jugoslovanskega enopartijskega političnega sistema.

Pričujoči članek temelji na analizi povečini še neobjavljenega arhivskega gradiva, ki ga hrani Arhiv Republike Slovenije v okviru arhivskega fonda Republiškega sekretariata za notranje zadeve. Predstavljena je torej „realnost“ skozi oči slovenske politične policije. To pomeni, da so v članku prikazani tedanji pogledi, ki so izhajajali iz enostranskih ali vsaj parcialnih sodb in percepcij s strani SDV, ki je marsikje videla sovražnika tedanjemu režimu oz. Jugoslaviji.

Za boljše razumevanje in razvoj tematike je tu najprej predstavljena politična emigracija takoj po drugi svetovni vojni; sledi prikaz statistike, ki jo je SDV sestavljala za interno uporabo; nadalje je predstavljen manj poznani *Zakon o amnestiji* iz leta 1962 in njegov vpliv na emigrante; za ključno razumevanje in vrednotenje delovanja SDV pa so prikazane naloge, cilji in metode napram slovenske politične emigracije, kot tudi spremljanje organizacij emigrantov, v okviru katerih je bila tudi t. i. sovražna propaganda.

POLITIČNA EMIGRACIJA TAKOJ PO VOJNI

Druga svetovna vojna je po štirih letih okupacijskega nasilja in državljanske vojne ter s tem medsebojnih obračunavanj na Slovenskem pustila obupno stanje (Pirjevec, 2011, 156). Maj 1945 je večini Slovencev prinesel osvoboditev izpod okupatorja,

1 Razprava je nastala v okviru raziskovalnega programa *Preteklost severovzhodne Slovenije med srednjo Evropo in evropskim jugovzhodom* (ARRS, P6-0138), ki jo financira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARRS).

drugim pa okupacijo Slovenije s strani narodnoosvobodilne vojske. Novi režim je z medvojnimi nasprotniki želel obračunati, in sicer predvsem z nasiljem in montiranimi procesi (prim. Pirjevec, 1995, 166; Repe, 2004, 85; Koncilija, 2015, 324; Melik & Jeraj, 2016, 455–460; Deželak Barič, 2016, 282–283; Čoh Kladnik, 2019, 107–134).

Tako kot drugod po Evropi je komunistični prevzem oblasti sprožil val beguncev (Drnovšek, 1996). V obdobju najostrejše represije med letoma 1945 in 1953 so s temi dejanji posredno vzpodbudili beg tako imenovanih „notranjih sovražnikov“ iz države (Jenuš & Friš, 2017, 777–792). V strahu pred zmagovalci je v Avstrijo in Italijo prebežalo med 20.000 in 25.000 ljudi, rojenih v Jugoslaviji. Med množico beguncev, ki so se umaknili iz Slovenije oz. Jugoslavije, so bili pripadniki protipartizanskih enot – domobranci, četniki in njihove družine (Švent, 1995, 78–80; Bajc, 2010, 377) – priključili so se jim tudi civilisti, predvsem z Notranjske in Dolenjske, zlasti Kočevarji, ki so se, ko se je vojna začela, priključili nemškemu „kolonizacijskemu programu preseljevanja“ (Repe, 2010, 245–256) na Štajersko, po 1945 pa so se umaknili v begunska taborišča v Avstriji (Švent, 2007; Ferenc, 2010, 532) in Italiji (Jaklitsch, 2018). V begunskih taboriščih so se začele organizirati razne ilegalne skupine, ki jih je partija povezovala z delovanjem slovenske vojaške in politične emigracije (Čoh, 2011, 509). Okoli 10.000 slovenskih domobrancev se je maja 1945 moralo vrniti v Jugoslavijo, kjer je večino čakala kruta usoda likvidacij. Kot ugotavlja Marjan Drnovšek (2010, 285), so se leta 1946 začeli izgoni tudi starojugoslovanskih državljanov – začela se je aktivna revanšistična in „konfiskacijska“ politika do nemške manjšine na Slovenskem. Vrnili so se tudi nekateri deportiranci in izgnanci iz taborišč, ki so preživeli nasilje v taboriščih ali vojnih okoljih, kamor so bili izgnani (repatriacija[2]).

V tujini so ostali posamezniki, ki so tam bivali že med vojno in se zaradi nasprotovanja novim oblastem niso želeli vrniti v Jugoslavijo (Švent, 1995, 78–80). Nekateri begunci so torej ostali zlasti v taboriščih v Avstriji in Italiji – postali so „sovražna“ politična emigracija. Njihova prisotnost onkraj meje je kar nekaj let vplivala na pripisovanje velikega pomena državni meji tudi iz varnostnih vidikov zaščite pred t. i. sovražnimi elementi. Leta 1947 se je s pomočjo izseljenskih duhovnikov in politikov pričelo organizirano razseljevanje političnih emigrantov večinoma v naselitvene centre v čezmorske dežele – nekateri pa so ostali v bližini jugoslovanske meje v Italiji in Avstriji. Največ se jih je izselilo v Argentino, odhajali pa so tudi v Kanado, ZDA, v Avstralijo (med letoma 1945 in 1951 naj bi tja pribežalo 23.816 ljudi, rojenih v Jugoslaviji) (Pirjevec, 2006, 1–3), Venezuelo, zatočišče pa so dobili tudi v Veliki Britaniji in Zvezni republiki Nemčiji ter nekaterih drugih evropskih državah (Švent, 1995, 78–80; Drnovšek, 1996, 98). Med politično emigracijo je v večini veljalo prepričanje, da bo njihovo bivanje v tujini le začasno, saj so si obetali nagli propad komunističnega režima v Jugoslaviji. Za razliko od predvojne emigracije, v okviru

2 Povratništvo kot repatriacija se je po vojni nanašalo na vojne ujetnike, civilne internirance, zapornike, begunce, izgnance, prisilno odpeljane delavce, nekdanje mobilizirance v nemško vojsko, ugrabljene otroke, torej na tiste, ki so bili prisilno preseljeni in so se vračali v domovino (Bajc & Lampe, 2017; Lukšič Hacin, 2019, 190).

katere so prevladovali ekonomski izseljenci, je bilo med političnimi emigranti tudi veliko število intelektualcev, ki so postavili v diaspori temelje političnega, kulturnega in verskega delovanja. Jugoslovanski oblastniki so imeli do politične emigracije – ki si je prizadevala za padec komunističnega režima in slovensko samostojnost – skozi vse povojno obdobje nezaupljiv, nestrpen in sovražen odnos (Švent, 1995, 79–81), nadnjo pa je jugoslovanska tajna politična policija[3] izvajala skrben nadzor vse do razpada Jugoslavije (Simoniti, 1998, 27).

Prehajanje državnih meja takoj po drugi svetovni vojni je bilo torej strogo nadzorovano: z Avstrijo so bile od konca vojne pa do srede šestdesetih let meje zaprte, z Italijo so se bolj zaprle leta 1947 in se nato 1955 ponovno odprle (zlasti za obmejno prebivalstvo), z Madžarsko pa so se zadeve zaostrile po informbiroju leta 1948. *Zakon o gibanju na meji* je predpisoval, da se meja lahko prestopa na nekaterih mejnih prehodih z veljavno pravno listino, ilegalni prehodi pa so bili prepovedani vse do leta 1951, ko se je kaznovalna politika omilila. Tako bi lahko čas nelegalnega prehajanja tik po vojni glede na svoj nastanek torej označili za obdobje politične (sovražne) emigracije; obdobje od 1948–1961 pa kot obdobje prebežnikov, ki so bili s časoma s strani Republiškega sekretariata za notranje zadeve Socialistične republike Slovenije (RSNZ SRS)[4] preimenovani v „ekonomsko migracijo“[5] (razen posebne skupine prebežnikov, ki so z države zbežali zaradi ideoloških razhajanj po izključitvi Jugoslavije iz informbiroja) (Božič, 2010, 413; Lukšič Hacin, 2019, 192; Drnovšek, 2010, 261–262). Slednja je dobila „krila“ v sporazumih šestdesetih let.[6] A tudi po t. i. liberalizaciji selitev iz Jugoslavije so vzroki za izseljevanje bili ob ekonomskih tudi politični. Pridružili so se jim namreč mnogi, ki so nasprotovali političnemu sistemu v Sloveniji in tako postali del „sovražne“ politične emigracije.

3 V pričujočem prispevku se za slovensko tajno politično policijo uporabljata dva termina, UDV in SDV. Medvojni Oddelek za zaščito države – OZN se je leta 1946 preoblikoval v Upravo državne varnosti (UDV), imenovano (in kasneje popularno znano kot Udba) (Dornik Šubelj, 1993). Leta 1966 so na IV. plenumu Centralnega komiteja (CK) Zveze komunistov Jugoslavije (ZKJ) na Brionih zaradi prisluškovalne afere obračunali z Udbo in Aleksandrom Rankovićem, do takrat drugim človekom v državi in verjetnim Titovim naslednikom (Pirjevec, 2011, 497–503). Število pripadnikov politične policije se je zmanjšalo, UDV pa je leta 1967 z *Zakonom o notranji zadevah* bila preimenovana v Službo državne varnosti (SDV) (Jenuš, 2013, 63) in delovala v okviru Zveznega in Republiških sekretariatov za notranje zadeve (več o ustroju tajne politične policije po letu 1966: Šela, Hazemali & Melanšek, 2020).

4 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na splošno, nedatirano, 1964, 1.

5 Zanimivo je, kot piše Drnovšek (1998, 241), da jugoslovanska oblast v petdesetih letih ni priznavala obstoja ekonomske migracije, saj naj bi bilo le-to pojav kapitalističnih družb. Konec petdesetih pa je že začela pisati o ekonomskih vzrokih za odhod.

6 Liberalizacija selitev iz Jugoslavije se je intenzivneje začela z *Zakonom o amnestiji* (1962), s podpisom bilateralnega sporazuma o delovnih migracijah z Avstrijo (1963), s Francijo (1965), Kraljevino Švedsko (1967) in z ZRN (1969), potem pa še sporazumi z Nizozemsko, Belgijo, Luksemburgom in Avstralijo (Lukšič Hacin, 2019, 194), po gospodarski reformi leta 1965 pa je ZRN kmalu postala glavni cilj priseljevanja Slovencev, ekonomskih migrantov, za katere se je pri nas uveljavil termin „delavci na začasnem delu in bivanju v tujini“ (Šela & Hazemali, 2020).

STATISTIKA

Konec leta 1964 so pri Republiškemu sekretariatu za notranje zadeve Socialistične republike Slovenije[7] ugotavljali, da naj bi v tujini živelo okrog 18.000 slovenskih političnih emigrantov, pri čemer se jih je največ nahajalo v prekomorskih ter zahodnoevropskih državah.[8] Letni povprečni porast emigracije so ocenjevali na 1200 oseb, pri čemer naj bi med njimi „*aktivno sovražno politično*“ delovalo v letu 1964 57 in prihodnje leto 64 aktivnih „*sovražno naravnanih*“ slovenskih emigrantov.[9] Leta 1966 so ugotavljali, da je sicer vsa povojna leta politična emigracija naraščala, v prvi polovici šestdesetih pa naj bi se število političnih emigrantov v petih letih povečalo za 8200 oseb, vendar pa točnih podatkov o tem, koliko je dejansko političnih emigrantov, ekstremne ali ekonomske emigracije ni mogoče natančno opredeliti.[10] Številke zaradi nezadostnih podatkov pa tudi mešanja terminologije (politični/ekonomski emigranti), kot opozarjata tudi Marjan Drnovšek (1998, 244) in Marina Lukšič Hacin (2019, 193), zelo variirajo. V obsežni „Informaciji o slovenski politični emigraciji“, napisani ob koncu šestdesetih let, je Služba državne varnosti (SDV) ugotavljala, da je izven državnih meja SFRJ živelo kar 588.761 Slovencev (vključene manjšine, delavci na začasnem bivanju) (Drnovšek, 2004, 112), ki jih je SDV razdelila na tri osnovne kategorije: ekonomsko emigracijo, ki naj bi je bilo okoli 388.000 oseb, manjšine, ki naj bi predstavljale 180.000 oseb, ter politično emigracijo, ki naj bi leta 1969 predstavljala tokrat 20.261 oseb. Od slednjih naj bi se okoli 2 % oseb že pred emigracijo kontrarevolucionarno ali drugače „sovražno“ angažiralo proti SFRJ.[11]

SDV je prav v tej grupaciji videla nevarnost, ki bi lahko potencialno škodovala Jugoslaviji in jo postavila ob bok nevarni ustaški hrvaški politični emigraciji v inozemstvu. V poročilu iz leta 1963 je zapisala, da je bilo tudi med slovensko politično emigracijo v „inozemstvu“ možno zaznati nevarnosti pojava nagnjenosti k diverzantsko-terorističnim aktivnostim.[12] K tem dejanjem naj bi slovensko politično emigracijo vzpodbujala „[…] *nekakšna psihoza, ki izhaja iz že izvršenih terorističnih akcij na naša predstavništva v inozemstvu ter vedno bolj splošnim prepričanjem, da je nujno začeti z oboroženim odporom*

7 Po sprejetju ustave iz leta 1964 se je med drugim Državni sekretariat za notranje zadeve Ljudske republike Slovenije (DSNZ LRS) preimenoval v Republiški Sekretariat za notranje zadeve Socialistične republike Slovenije (RSNZ SRS).

8 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na splošno, nedatirano, 1964, 1.

9 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 1–3.

10 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 1.

11 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Informacija o slovenski politični emigraciji, datum neznan 1969, 1.

12 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-4, Teroristične akcije emigracije, Pojav diverzantsko-terorističnih skupin na področju Hrvatske in Slovenije, 22. 7. 1963, 3.

V posameznih obdobjih, ki predstavljajo v nekem smislu specifične mejnike, je emigriralo:

do 1940	572 oseb	ali 2,8%
od 1940 do 1945	6.931 oseb	ali 34,2%
od 1945 do 1952	2.981 oseb	ali 14,7%
od 1952 do 1967	9.402 oseb	ali 46,4%
ni znano	375 oseb	ali 1,9%

Slika 1: Izsek „Informacije o slovenski politični emigraciji" leta 1969 (ARS, AS 1931, t.e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Informacija o slovenski politični emigraciji, datum neznan 1969, 1).

[...]".[13] Kot problematično so pri tem pri UDV označevali dejstvo, da se je Jugoslaviji sovražna politična emigracija pričela organizirati in naj bi novačila emigrante – teroriste, ki naj bi opravili tudi ustrezne tečaje za izvajanje akcij. Emigracija naj bi tako razpolagala tudi z zajetnim arzenalom orožja. Grožnjo so pri UDV vzeli resno in izvedli nekatere ukrepe. „*Z naše strani so že ves julij* [1963] *podvzeti posebni izredni ukrepi. Do maksimuma ojačana straža na meji, pojačana kontrola PLM v notranjosti, pripravljene grupe milice za eventualne potrebe nove intervencije, razširjena kontrola na javna prometna sredstva, pojačana kontrola v smeri avstrijske meje* [...]".[14]

V istem poročilu iz leta 1963 je UDV ocenila, da so z ukrepi uspeli preprečiti večino diverzantskih akcij skupin politične emigracije. K temu je pripomoglo tudi dejstvo, da so grupacije politične emigracije zaradi slabe pripravljenosti same propadle. Del diverzantov je UDV tudi uspelo zajeti, s čimer so odkrili glavne vstopne poti iz Avstrije, Italije in jih posledično dodatno zaščitili.[15]

13 Poročilo SDV iz leta 1963 je med nosilce Jugoslaviji nevarnih diverzantsko-terorističnih aktivnosti prištevalo predvsem razne frakcije ustaške emigracije s sedeži v Zahodni Nemčiji, Franciji, Italiji. Med problematične skupine so prištevali Hrvatski oslobodilački pokret, Hrvatsko križarsko bratstvo, Tajni revolucionarni ustaški pokret, Društvo prijatelja Drine, Hrvatski demokratski odbor itd. Med slovensko politično emigracijo je tako SDV v poročilu omenjalo Organizacijo slovenskih protikomunistov v Zahodni Nemčiji in Akcijski odbor za neodvisno Slovenijo v Trstu (ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-4, Teroristične akcije emigracije, Pojav diverzantsko-terorističnih skupin na području Hrvatske in Slovenije, 22. 7. 1963, 3).

14 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-4, Teroristične akcije emigracije, Pojav diverzantsko-terorističnih skupin na području Hrvatske in Slovenije, 22. 7. 1963, 6.

15 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-4, Teroristične akcije emigracije, Pojav diverzantsko-terorističnih skupin na području Hrvatske in Slovenije, 22. 7. 1963, 5–6.

Čeprav so glavne vstopne in izstopne točke potekale skozi jugoslovanski sosedi Avstrijo in Italijo, so konec šestdesetih so ugotavljali, da je sta bili ti državi v glavnem le tranzitni, saj je največ slovenskih političnih emigrantov (skupno okoli 20.000 oseb) bilo v Zvezni republiki Nemčiji (ZRN). Sledile so ji Avstrija, Kanada, Združene države Amerike (ZDA) in Argentina. Več kot tisoč oseb je bilo možno izslediti tudi v Italiji, Avstraliji in Franciji. Večji del emigrantov naj bi bil po podatkih SDV v evropskih državah (skupno 9692 oseb), pri čemer naj bi bilo število večje zlasti zaradi begunskih azilov, ki so kot izhodiščna točka bili postavljeni v evropskih državah (zlasti Italiji in Avstriji), naj pa bi se največji del „sovražne" emigracije nahajal v prekomorskih državah. SDV je zapisala, da se je politično-ekonomski položaj emigracije v državah, v katere so se izseljevali, razlikoval.[16] Politična emigracija naj bi se v manjši meri pomlajevala, a naj bi se večje število novih emigrantov prav tako vračalo nazaj domov. Od leta 1961 do 1967 naj bi v tujini ostalo 7181 novih, vrnilo pa 2472 oseb. SDV je pri tem znova opozarjala na variiranje številk in morebitne nepopolne podatke. Število 20.000 slovenskih političnih emigrantov je sicer dokaj stalno v celotnem desetletju – čeprav naj bi se postopoma manjšalo (stapljalo z ekonomsko migracijo). Pri oceni pomlajevanja emigracije v danem obdobju naj bi le 18 oseb emigriralo iz sovražnih političnih vzrokov in 290 zaradi preiskave, vpoklica v JLA ali grozeči kazni zapora. Večina politične emigracije, ki naj bi delovala „sovražno", so predstavljali izobraženci.[17]

Pri tem je SDV po svoji „nagnjenosti" delila politično emigracijo na „*lojalno*" (8,5 %), „*sovražno*" (kar 58,9 % emigracije), „*nezainteresirano*" (24,3 %), „*prijateljsko razpoloženo*" (1,1 %) in „*neznanega stališča*" (7,2 %), pri čemer ni pojasnjena razlika med „lojalno" in „prijateljsko razpoloženo" emigracijo. Raznim emigrantskim organizacijam naj bi pripadalo 265 oseb, od tega približno 9,5 % drugim „*nacionalnim grupacijam jugoslovanske emigracije*". Za izredno in permanentno „sovražne" so označili „le" 56 slovenskih emigrantov, pri čemer so gledali na „*določene sovražne dejavnosti večjega ali manjšega obsega*".[18]

Nekaj let prej je UDV ugotavljala, da se je politična emigracija v glavnem posluževala „[…] *že znanih in ustaljenih metod in oblik sovražnega delovanja.*" To je po eni strani obsegalo propagando, s katero so hoteli Jugoslavijo na Zahodu predstaviti kot avtokratsko državo, jo po ocenah SDV diskreditirati in čimbolj izolirati. Eno od sredstev za to diskreditacijo je bila obveščevalna dejavnost, s pomočjo katere je emigracija po eni strani zbirala podatke politične narave, ki bi

16 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Informacija o slovenski politični emigraciji, datum neznan 1969, 2–4. Prim. tudi:ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Nastanek jugoslovanske emigracije, datum neznan 1956, 1–2.

17 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Informacija o slovenski politični emigraciji, datum neznan 1969, 2–4.

18 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Informacija o slovenski politični emigraciji, datum neznan 1969, 1.

ji služili pri teh aktivnostih, hkrati pa je poskušala ustvarjati ilegalne opozicijske skupine v Jugoslaviji, „[…] *predvsem med študentsko mladino in bivšimi predstavniki meščanskih strank*." Obveščevalno-politično dejavnost je emigracija po ocenah UDV izvajala predvsem na dva načina. Preko osebnih kontaktov s svojci in ostalimi zvezami med jugoslovanskimi državljani, ki so v inozemstvo potovali s pomočjo rednih potnih listov, ali preko beguncev – novih emigrantov – ki so zbežali iz Jugoslavije. Za te je UDV zapisala, da „[…] *v tujino bežijo v glavnem brez namena politično sovražno delovati, pa so v tujini prepuščeni sami sebi, kar stara politična emigracija izkorišča tudi v tej smeri.*"[19]

ZAKON O AMNESTIJI IN NJEGOV VPLIV NA POLITIČNO EMIGRACIJO

V začetku šestdesetih let je takratni Državni sekretariat za notranje zadeve Ljudske republike Slovenije (DSNZ LRS) v poročilu o slovenski politični emigraciji[20] ugotavljal, da so v preteklosti glede slovenske emigracije nastale določene za politično varnost sporne težave, ki še s strani pristojnih organov niso bile rešene. Kot prvo „*odprto težavo*" so označili *Zakon o amnestiji za emigracijo*[21], sprejet leta 1962, ki je, kot ugotavlja Marina Lukšič Hacin (2019, 193), predstavljal korenito spremembo odnosa do političnih emigrantov in njihovega položaja, saj je odprl možnost, da večina političnih emigrantov legalizira svoj status kot ekonomski migranti. DSNZ LRS je ugotovil, da je sicer splošno prebivalstvo (zlasti pa sorodniki emigrantov, ki živijo v matični državi) v Jugoslaviji pozdravilo zakon, ki ga je jugoslovanska oblast predstavila kot akt humanosti, nekateri, zlasti „*pripadniki bivših meščanskih strank in nekateri intelektualci* […]*, ki skušajo diskreditirati predvsem namen in pomen amnestije. Tako poudarjajo, da je bil zakon o amnestiji sprejet zaradi težkega gospodarskega položaja v domovini*." Zakonu pa niso pritrjevali niti nekateri nekdanji borci narodnoosvobodilnega boja in člani Zveze komunistov ter nekateri svojci žrtev t. i. belogardističnega nasilja, ki so menili, da „*oblast prehitro pozablja grozote druge svetovne vojne*", ter kmetje, ki jim je bila dodeljena zemlja pobeglih nasprotnikov. V poročilu DSNZ LRS so citirali tudi slovenskega pravnika, politika in publicista Jakoba Mohoriča, ki je menil, da je bil zakon sprejet zaradi slabega gospodarskega stanja, ki bi ga vrnitev emigrantov izboljšala, ker bi se Jugoslavija tako lahko hitreje vključila v zahodni gospodarski blok pa tudi zaradi prinosa deviz. Mohorič je vzrok za predlog zakona iskal tudi v tem, da bi država z njim posredno ali neposredno pripravila do vrnitve nekatere „*pomembnejše emigrante*", z njihovo vrnitvijo pa bi ostali, „*ki so proti Jugosla-*

19 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1949–1960, 1961–1963), Emigracija, 1959, 1–2.

20 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Nekateri odprti problemi, Ljubljana, 24. 2. 1964, 1–7.

21 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, Zakon o amnestiji z ekspozejem podpredsednik Zveznega izvršnega sveta Aleksandra Rankovića, 1962.

viji", izgubili močno oporo. Podobnega mnenja naj bi bil tudi Edvard Kocbek in literarni zgodovinar Jakob Šolar.[22] DSNZ je ugotavljala, da je imela slovenska politična emigracija do pričujočega zakona zelo odklonilen odnos.[23]

> *Politično sovražno aktivna emigracija je sprejela zakon o amnestiji kot najbolj nevaren akt jugoslovanski oblasti v smeri nadaljnjega, hitrejšega razslojevanja in depolitizacije politične emigracije. Posledica tega je, da so se vodstva vseh politemigrantskih skupin zelo intenzivno angažirala na ublažitvi posledic v tej smeri. Taka akcija teče preko emigrantskega tiska, individualno-organizacijske dejavnosti in celo najbolj grobega teroriziranja in groženj z likvidacijami emigrantov, ki bi regulirali svoj status. Tudi policije zahodnih držav (npr. Avstrija, Nemčija, Švica itd.) preko zaslišanj, groženj in podobnih ukrepov odvračajo emigrante d tega, da regulirajo svoj status.*[24]

DSNZ je predvidevala, da je celotna emigracija pod vplivom politične emigracije z njeno „sovražno" propagando in pritiski. Sklepali so, da določene skupine politične emigracije pripravljajo načrt, da bodo amnestijo izkoristili za infiltracijo svojih ljudi v Jugoslaviji.[25] Skupine in posamezniki slovenske politične emigracije (npr. v ZRN krog, ki se je zbiral okoli duhovnika Josipa Demšarja, Narodni odbor za Slovenijo pod predsednikom Miho Krekom, krog Miloša Stareta, ustanovitelja buenosaireškega emigrantskega glasila *Svobodna Slovenija*[26], krog glasila *Ameriška domovina*, ki je izhajala v ZDA, Organizacija slovenskih protikomunistov za Evropo s sedežem v ZRN pod predsednikom Janezom Topliškom, Franjo Sekulec, podpredsednik Slovenske ljudske stranke in zaposlen na BBC v Londonu, tudi Vekoslav Farkaš, predsednik slovenske emigrantske skupine Stara Pravda v Londonu) ter emigrantska duhovščina, so v svojih glasilih dejansko opozarjali na pasti ter nejasnosti zakona,[27] npr. da sta ime in vsebina zakona upravičena le za resnične krivce po zakonu, nekdo, ki pa se zgolj bori proti komunizmu, ne izvaja kaznivega dejanja, s čimer torej ne more prejeti amnestije. Prav tako so

22 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Zakon o amnestiji, Situacijsko poročilo: Komentarji o Zakonu o amnestiji, Državni sekretariat za notarje zadeve Ljudske republike Slovenije, Ljubljana, 4. 4. 1962, 1–6.

23 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Zakon o amnestiji, Analiza sovražne aktivnosti emigracije v luči Izjave in Zakona o amnestiji, Državni sekretariat za notranje zadeve Ljudske republike Slovenije, Ljubljana, 28. 8. 1962, 3.

24 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Zakon o amnestiji, Kratka ocena stanja med emigracij po sprejetem zakonu i amnestiji, 28, 6. 1962, 1–2.

25 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Zakon o amnestiji, Kratka ocena stanja med emigracij po sprejetem zakonu i amnestiji, 28, 6. 1962, 3–4.

26 Časopis *Svobodna Slovenija* je začel izhajati kot ilegalna publikacija že leta 1941 v Ljubljani, od leta 1945–1947 je izhajal v Rimu, od leta 1948 pa v Buenos Airesu. Najprej je izhajal kot polmesečnik, kasneje kot tednik (Žigon, 2001, 94).

27 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Zakon o amnestiji, Analiza sovražne aktivnosti emigracije v luči Izjave in Zakona o amnestiji, Državni sekretariat za notranje zadeve Ljudske republike Slovenije, Ljubljana, 28. 8. 1962, 4–10.

opozarjali, da gre morebiti za taktično potezo izvabiti čim več emigrantov in jih zapreti. Menili so, da je cilj zakona oslabiti slovensko politično emigracijo in vanjo vnesti razdor ter paralizirati njen vpliv. Politični emigranti so poudarili, da gre zgolj za gospodarsko ureditev razmer (saj bi z devizami emigrantov pomagali jugoslovanskemu gospodarstvu) in nikakršni akt humanosti oz. odpuščanja.[28]

Zakon o amnestiji je tako pospešil delovanje slovenske politične emigracije, ki je menila, da gre pri zakonu za „*nevaren udarec*“ jugoslovanske oblasti. Ob opozarjanju na pasti zakona si je politična emigracija v začetku šestdesetih hkrati prizadevala tesneje povezati vse Slovence v inozemstvu v enotno organizacijo, ki bi imela svoje vrhovno predstavništvo na tujem. V ta namen so ustanovili Zvezo Slovencev v inozemstvu, ki je izdajala časopis *Vestnik*, po informacijah DSNZ so imeli pisarne v ZDA, Angliji, Argentini, Avstraliji, Avstriji, Franciji, Italiji in Kanadi. Aktivno pa so leta 1962 po sprejemu *Zakona o amnestiji* poleg *Vestnika* začeli izhajati tudi drugi časopisi, npr. *Novi časi* v Buenos Airesu, *Slovenska misel* ter *Slovenski dom* v Torontu. Tudi v slovenskih manjšinah v Italiji in Avstriji se je pokazala večja aktivnost zlasti dijaških in študentskih klubov, ki so pričeli izdajati svoja glasila, npr. *Mladi red* in *Mladje* na Koroškem, *Dijaški list* na Goriškem in *Literarne vaje* v Trstu. Ob časopisih so se kot odgovor za zakon pojavili tudi letaki, ki so bili poslani v Slovenijo, npr. *Poslanica slovenskemu narodu za novo leto 1962*, ki so ga natisnili v okviru Akcijskega odbora za samostojno Slovenijo (AONS) s sedežem v Trstu in pod katerim je bil podpisan Franc Jeza, letaki pa so bili naslovljeni tako na posameznike kot različne ustanove (npr. Vidi Tomšič, takrat predsednici ljudske skupščini, in Viktorju Avblju, predsedniku izvršnega sveta).[29] Vsebina letaka je pozivala k političnemu boju za samostojno Slovenijo.[30] Kasneje v letu 1962 je AONS ponovno natisnil podobne letake z naslovom *Slovenskemu narodu* s podobno vsebino.[31]

DSNZ je v splošnem poročilu o politični emigraciji naslednje leto (1963) ugotavljal, da je vsem ekstremnim slovenskim emigrantskim skupinam skupna ideja o samostojni Sloveniji.[32] V DSNZ so priznavali, da delovanje politične emigracije po sprejetju *Zakona o amnestiji* sicer izključuje teroristične, diverzantske in druge

---

28 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Zakon o amnestiji, Komentarji emigracije o Zakonu o amnestiji – II, Državni sekretariat za notranje zadeve Ljudske republike Slovenije, Ljubljana, 28. 4. 1962, 1–4.

29 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1176, AONS, Situacijsko poročilo: Število pošiljk letakov „Akcijskega odbora za neodvisno Slovenijo“ se je v času od 29/11-62 zmanjšalo. Sestavil Milan Gombač, 9. 1. 1963; AONS, Informacija: „Gibanje za samostojno slovensko državo“ – obdelava „Separatist“; anonimke „Akcijskega odbora za neodvisno Slovenijo“ iz Trsta, 23. 2. 1963.

30 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1176, AONS, Informacija: Pokret za samostojno slovensko državo Toronto – Obdelava „Separatist“, vključevanje tržaške mladine v Akcijski odbor za neodvisno Slovenijo, 17. 6. 1963; AONS, Informacija: Propagandna dejavnost Jeze Franca, vodje „Akcijskega odbora za neodvisno Slovenijo“ v Trstu (obdelava „Separatist“). Sestavil: Dušan Perme, 28. 3. 1964.

31 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Zakon o amnestiji, Politična in diverzantska dejavnost tujine proti FLRJ, Poročilo sestavil: Jože Gostničar, Ljubljana, 5. 11. 1962, 1–3.

32 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Zakon o amnestiji, Analiza premikov v emigraciji v dobi od sprejetja zakona o amnestiji do danes, Ljubljana, 26. 3. 1963, 9.

subverzivne akcije, vendar so si za cilj postavili, da morajo ostati pozorni nanje, saj se predstavniki politične emigracije poslužujejo zlasti možnosti širokega kontakta s Slovenci v inozemstvu, organiziranih zvez in novih beguncev, ki predstavljajo bogat vir informacij, predvsem vojaškega in gospodarskega značaja.[33] Leta 1964 so izrazili nasledje mnenje: „*Značilno je, da ekstremna emigracija v zadnjem času usmerja svojo dejavnost na pridobivanje mlajših povojnih emigrantov za krepitev svojih organizacij. Te emigrante, predvsem razne fanatike, izkoriščajo za ekstremne akcije*."[34]

NALOGE, CILJI IN METODE SLOVENSKE POLITIČNE POLICIJE PRI OBRAVNAVI SLOVENSKE POLITIČNE EMIGRACIJE

Delovanje slovenske politične policije v tujini se je v šestdesetih, ko so tedanje jugoslovanske oblasti odprle meje in omogočale svojim državljanom odhod v zahodno Evropo, okrepilo. Iz ohranjenega arhivskega gradiva je mogoče razbrati, da se je znašla pred zahtevno nalogo; v prvi vrsti v smislu nadzorovanja politične emigracije, pa tudi zdomcev, različnih povratnikov iz tujine, štipendistov, študentov na univerzah v tujini, udeležencev študijskih potovanj, zaposlenih v podružnicah slovenskih podjetij v tujini. Nadzor nad vsemi omenjenimi kategorijami je izviral iz bojazni, da se bodo državljani v tujini navzeli vpliva protirežimskih idej in jih prinašali v Jugoslavijo. Obstajala pa je tudi bojazen, da bi jugoslovanski državljani v tujini postali sodelavci tujih obveščevalnih služb (Jenuš, 2013, 63). Pri svojem delovanju je uporabljala prikrite metode dela: preverjanje pisem, prisluškovanje telefonskim pogovorom, tajnim preiskavam prebivališč, poslovnih prostorov, hotelskih sob, vozil idr. Pogosta metoda je bila tudi stalno tajno opazovanje in spremljanje ljudi, o čemer niso odločala sodišča, ampak kar politična policija. V SFRJ je obstajal tudi tajni uradni list SFRJ, kot tudi posebni tajni podzakonski predpisi. Slednji so urejali vprašanja s področja državne varnosti in obrambe države in ohranjevali totalitarno oblast (Šturm, Dornik Šubelj & Čelik, 2003, 7–8).

Po reorganizaciji slovenske varnostno-obveščevalne službe (in preimenovanju iz UDV v SDV) leta 1967 je za analizo in poročila o slovenski politični emigraciji skrbel zlasti III. sektor SDV v sodelovanju z drugimi oddelki in institucijami. Njegove glavne naloge so bile zbiranje podatkov o tako imenovanem notranjem in zunanjem sovražniku (slovensko zamejstvo in emigracija), prepoznavanje ter sledenje avtorjem in razpečevalcem takrat ilegalnega tiska, parol, anonimk ipd. ter preprečevanje takšne dejavnosti (Šela, Hazemali & Melanšek, 2020, 824–825). SDV je izvajala tako naloge tajne politične policije kot tudi „*naloge obveščevalne službe v tujini in protiobveščevalne službe doma*". Njene naloge so bile še varovanje državnih meja

33 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Zakon o amnestiji, Politična in diverzantska dejavnost tujine proti FLRJ, Poročilo sestavil: Gostničar Jože, Ljubljana, 5. 11. 1962, 3.

34 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Dejavnost slovenske politične emigracije, Odboru Izvršnega sveta za notranjo politiko, RSNZ SRS, Ljubljana, 16. 9. 1964, 3.

in političnega vrha. Za komunistično oblast je politična policija obvladovala vse plati družbenega življenja in nadzorovala ter kaznovala posameznike ali družbene skupine, ki so delovale iz „želenih miselnih agend in bi s tem lahko predstavljali nevarno opozicijo tedanji *politični ureditvi*“. Slovenska tajna politična policija je ščitila partijsko oblast tudi v tujini, kjer so delovali s klasičnim obveščevalnim delom, zbirali podatke ter spremljali dejavnike, ki bi lahko potencialno negativno vplivali na komunistični režim doma (Jenuš, 2013, 63).

Posebno pozornost je slovenska politična policija v tujini posvečala zlasti t. i. ekstremni politični emigraciji. Za težavo je UDV v začetku šestdesetih videla med drugim pošiljanje finančnih sredstev iz emigracije na območje LRS, nad katerim naj bi imeli premalo pregleda, saj bi lahko v nekaterih primerih šlo za financiranje v propagandno-politične namene. Za leto 1959 so ugotavljali, da je bilo iz tujine na Slovensko nakazanih preko 130.000.000 deviznih dinarjev. Nadalje so izpostavili težavo obveščevalne dejavnosti emigrantskih organizacij. Splošna ugotovitev UDV je bila, da so se tuje obveščevalne službe znašale tako na nove begunce kot na posamezne emigrante iz emigrantskih organizacij.[35] Njihov cilj je bil zbiranje podatkov politične narave, ki bi obveščevalnim službam služili pri diskreditaciji Jugoslavije v tujini. „*Za dosego svojih ciljev izkoriščajo predvsem* […] *pohlep ljudi za tujo valuto, ker običajno tak človek gleda, da v inozemstvu prihrani nekaj denarja.*“[36]

Leta 1960 so v poročilu o politični emigraciji zapisali, da je za angažirano delo za spremljanje emigracije v UDV zaposlenih 118 ljudi, od tega 13 v tujini, 51 v LRS ter 54 v ostalih službah DSNZ. Pisec poročila je dodal, da so vsi ti zaposleni na zelo nizko-kvalitetni stopnji in tako ne dosegajo ciljev, ki si jih služba zadaja. Tako je UDV tega leta in tudi nekaj let poprej delovala zlasti na informativnem spremljanju „sovražne“ emigracije in dopolnjevanju splošne evidence o emigraciji.[37] Sledeč tej ugotovitvi je bila agentura glede števila sodelavcev in rednih zvez

35 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Politična emigracija, Ljubljana 8. 7. 1960, 10.

36 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1949–1960, 1961–1963), Emigracija, 1959, 1–2, 5.

37 ARS, AS 1931, t.e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Politična emigracija, Ljubljana 8. 7. 1960, 14. Za primerjavo lahko navedemo podatke iz leta 1959, ko je za spremljanje delovanja politične emigracije bilo nastavljenih 11 agentov, 8 informatorjev in tako imenovani 3 „zvezniki“. V agenturni mreži je tako bilo nastavljenih 22 oseb. 15 jih je delovalo v tujini (od tega 7 iz oddelkov državne varnosti), 7 na domačem terenu. V to številko je zaobjeta le tako imenovana „agentura“ na terenu, ki je izvajala neposreden nadzor nad „objekti obdelave“, ne pa tudi predstavniki ostalih služb DSNZ, ki so se v spremljanje sovražne aktivnosti emigracije vključevali po potrebi. Če analiziramo delovanje te mreže, se podatki občutno povečajo. V spremljanje emigracije je tako bilo vključenih še dodatnih 53 notranjih in 21 zunanjih sodelavcev ter 76 oseb, ki so bile angažirane po referatih za kontrolo potovanj – med njimi denimo Gorica, Koper, Novo mesto, Kranj, Celje, Ljubljana, Maribor in Murska Sobota. Ocena njihove uspešnosti tudi po tem poročilu ni bila pohvalna, saj naj bi glede na število vseh vpletenih, teh je bilo 172, bil izplen nezadovoljiv. „*Pretežni del agenture okrajev odpade na sodelavce, ki so bili v glavnem na kontroli zvez emigrantov v državi, poleg tega pa je v gornjem število zajeta tudi manj kvalitetna agentura*.“ (ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1949–1960, 1961–1963), Emigracija, 1959, 7–8).

na terenu nezadostna. Njene aktivnosti so se tako v veliki meri omejevale skoraj izključno na informativno ugotavljanje posameznih dogodkov, razčiščevanje t. i. deliktov in sovražnih akcij brez pravih možnost ofenzivnega posega v nastale težave.[38] Izpostavili so tudi, da je del agenture, ki deluje v tujini, visoko kvalificiran in da je šlo za „*intelektualno močne ljudi, z lastnimi idejami in političnim konceptom*", vendar njihovega potenciala ni bilo možno izkoristiti. Pri spremljanju emigracije v tujini je UDV posebno izpostavljala vprašanja komunikacij in delovanje agenture v tujini. „*Osnoven problem v tem pregledu je redna in hitra zveza z agenturo. Te praktično ni (z malimi izjemami), ker pretežni del zvez leži na zveznikih, ki potujejo na kontakte iz Jugoslavije in so vezani na vse postopke za izstavitev tuje vize*."[39] Vsi tovrstni postopki, četudi je tajna politična policija imela razdelane metodologije za njeno izvedbo, pa so imele veliko nevarnost za kompromitacijo zveze. Edina rešitev za to težavo je bila, po mnenju UDV, redna zamenjava zvez na terenu, kar pa je bil dolgotrajen in hkrati tvegan postopek. Še posebno, če so zveze pridobivali iz vrst emigracije, ta namreč Jugoslaviji ni bila naklonjena. Hkrati pa je bilo potrebno upoštevati dejstvo, da slovenska politična emigracija ni bila organizirana iz enega centra in torej ni delovala usklajeno, med seboj pa si je velikokrat tudi nasprotovala.[40]

Zvezni sekretariat za notranje zadeve je leta 1961 posredoval tudi *Inštrukcijo o novem tretmaju jugoslovanske emigracije*. V osnovi jo je razdelil na t. i. „lojalno" in „pozitivno" ter „sovražno aktivno". Pod prvo so spadali izseljenci, ki so v tujino odšli iz ekonomskih ali družinskih razlogov, vojni ujetniki, ki so se v številnih primerih vrnili šele mesece ali leta po koncu vojne, kar je tudi vplivalo na zmožnost njihove ponovne integracije v družbo (Lampe, 2020, 780–781), interniranci, delavci, oficirji in vojaki, ki so bili na delu med drugo svetovno vojno zunaj območja Jugoslavije, določeni pripadniki kvizlinških enot, begunci, mladoletniki in turistični potniki. Med „sovražno emigracijo" so spadali t. i. vojni zločinci, ugledni uradniki, voditelji, višje poveljniško osebje in posamezniki, ki so bili najaktivnejši člani kolaborantskih vojaških formacij, vidnejši uradniki nekdanjih političnih strank in uradniki sovražnih organizacij ne glede na čas odhoda iz države, emigranti v državah, ki so sovražne do FNRJ.[41]

Po *Zakonu o amnestiji* so pri UDV prejeli nova navodila tako za operativno kot informativno delo obveščevalno-varnostne službe. Glavni vrsti nalog sta obsegali obdelavo in nadzor individualiziranega „sovražnika" in preventivno delo. Za glavne naloge so si postavili: postavljanje „kvalitetnih" sodelavcev v emigrantske organizacije; v celoti nadzirati družine in druge zveze politične emigracije; dobro sodelovanje z ostalimi službami; se bolje informirati o re-

38 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1949–1960, 1961–1963), Emigracija, 1959, 9–10.
39 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1949–1960, 1961–1963), Emigracija, 1959, 9.
40 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1949–1960, 1961–1963), Emigracija, 1959, 9.
41 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Instrukcija o novom tretmanu jugoslovenske emigracije, 1961, 1–2.

patriirancih in povratnikih; povečati kontrolo na gospodarskih, prometnih in drugih objektih ter državnih mejah; posebno pozornost posvetiti osebni varnosti državnih in partijskih voditeljev.[42]

Aktivnejše delovanje politične emigracije po sprejemu zakona, ki so ga sicer jemali za uspešnega, saj je v enem letu (poročilo s 17. septembra 1963) po sprejetju zakona v Slovenijo repatriiralo 185 oseb, v dveh (poročilo 1. avgusta 1964) pa 321 oseb iz Avstrije, ZRN, Italije, Francije, Kanade, Avstralije, Argentine, Brazilije, ZDA, Danske, Venezuele, Velike Britanije, Nizozemske, Švedske in Tunizije,[43] je torej slovensko tajno politično policijo ponovno opozorilo nanje, saj so bili prepričani, da je politična emigracija pojem, ki odmira, leta 1962 pa so spoznali, da se pravzaprav pomlajuje. To je po analizah DSNZ predstavljal kompleksen politični problem z vedno bolj negativnimi aspekti.[44] Sovražna dejavnost slovenske politične emigracije se je namreč po mnenju slovenskih represivnih organov stopnjevala: „[…] *pod direktnim ali indirektnim vplivom srbske in hrvaške politične emigracije* […]“ je bilo možno tudi pri slovenski politični emigraciji srečati pojav ekstremnih aktivnosti političnega diverzantstva in terorističnih dejavnosti.[45] UDV je tako v poročilu iz marca 1963 izpostavila predvsem tri kategorije emigrantov, ki so bile deležne večje pozornosti.

Prvo kategorijo je sestavljal številčno manjši del sovražne aktivne, predvsem povojne emigracije, ki se je orientiral na ekstremno dejavnost proti FLRJ. Med njimi so izpostavili zlasti Organizacijo slovenskih protikomunistov (OSP), Akcijski odbor za neodvisno Slovenijo v Trstu in Zvezo študentov v emigraciji, ki so obsojale politiko pasivnega čakanja na „*ugoden moment*“ kot oportunistično zavlačevanje in zahtevale takojšnjih akcij. Zanje, je UDV zapisala, da je značilno povezovanje z najbolj ekstremnim delom hrvaške in srbske politične emigracije, zaradi česar so „*v sebi skrivali zelo nevaren potencial*“.[46]

Drugo kategorijo je sestavljal del emigracije, predvsem intelektualci in srednja generacija emigrantov, ki naj bi po mnenju UDV vedno bolj opuščali misel, da je bilo mogoče spremembe doseči z vključevanjem v organizacije starih predstavnikov politične emigracije. Zato so se orientirali drugam in pričeli sodelovati z zahodnimi političnimi in strokovnimi krogi. Mednje so denimo prištevali predstavnike

42 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Nekateri odprti problemi, Ljubljana, 24. 2. 1964, 2.

43 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Nekateri problemi v zvezi z repatriiranci na osnovi Zakona o amnestiji, Predsedniku odbora Izvršnega sveta za notranjo politiko, Republiški sekretar Riko Kolenc, Ljubljana, 17. 9. 1963, 2; Izvajanje Zakona o amnestiji in zadržanje emigrantov, ki prihajajo na obisk v domovino, 1. 8. 1964.

44 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Zakon o amnestiji, Analiza premikov v emigraciji v dobi od sprejetja zakona o amnestiji do danes, Ljubljana, 26. 3. 1963, 1–13.

45 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Emigracija, 25. 3. 1963, 1; MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 3–4.

46 Pri tej kategoriji emigracije je potrebno izpostaviti, da je UDV zaznavala, da so se slovenski politični emigranti vse bolj aktivno vključevali v najbolj ekstremne organizacije denimo hrvaške emigracije (prim. HOP, HNO, HDO) (ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Emigracija, 25. 3. 1963, 1).

Študijskega centra za jugoslovanske zadeve v Londonu in nekatere posameznike, kot denimo Ludvika Vrtačiča v Freiburgu in Edija Gobca v ZDA.[47] Za slednjega je zanimivo, da je Arhiv Republike Slovenije leta 2017 prevzel prvi del pomembne zbirke bogatega arhivskega gradiva o Slovencih in o slovenskem prispevku ZDA in svetu.[48] UDV je menila, da je namen teh organizacij in posameznikov bil ustvarjanje sovražnega razpoloženja z Jugoslaviji sovražno propagando. Kot skupno značilnost te skupine so videli, da so na tak ali drugačen način sodelovali s tujimi obveščevalnimi službami – bodisi kot agenti ali zveze. Med njimi je UDV izpostavljala angleško[49] in ameriško obveščevalno službo.[50]

Tretjo kategorijo so tvorili emigrantski duhovniki. Emigrantska duhovščina si je prizadevala za združevanje in povezovanje vseh slovenskih izseljencev (političnih emigrantov, predstavnikov manjšine), neglede na njihovo strankarsko opredelitev ali na versko-nacionalno osnovo, delovanje v cerkvenih-društvih organizacijah in prosvetnih organizacijah. Po mnenju UDV naj bi jo vodil boj za ohranitev vere in slovenstva. Čeprav bi pristop lahko bil razumljen pozitivno, je represivne organe skrbel potencial, ki ga je tovrstno delovanje imelo. „*Gre za zasovno delo z emigracijo in v tem okviru formiranje razpoloženj te mase našega življa v odnosu do Jugoslavije*."[51]

Po pregledu obširnih in številnih poročil RSNZ, lahko rečemo, da se je angažma za konkretno spremljanje, nadzorovanje politične emigracije ter preprečevanje njenega delovanja od srede šestdesetih let stopnjeval. Dejavnost slovenske politične emigracije se je namreč povečala, njeno delovanje pa je postalo predvsem aktivno politično, obveščevalno in propagandno. Kot so ocenili pri UDV je svojo „sovražno" aktivnost začela usmerjati na mednarodno politično področje, tuje politične kroge in javno mnenje, emigracijo v celoti, slovenske manjšine, slovensko delovno silo na tujem in tudi neposredno na ozemlje Slovenije.[52]

Slovenska politična emigracija je tako po mnenju UDV vlagala velike napore za dosego največje možne enotnosti jugoslovanske politične emigracije, ki naj bi imela za skupen cilj neokrnjeno Jugoslavijo, vendar z zahodno demokratično ureditvijo. S tem namenom naj bi bilo za emigracijo nujno, da oblikuje neko jedro, saj je veljala za izredno razbito, in v tem smislu nek minimalni program. Emigracija naj bi pri tem stavila na povezovalni potencial raznih društev in organizacij, ki sicer navzven naj ne bi imele izrazitega političnega obeležja – je pa to bil seveda prvi korak ali stik, s

47 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Emigracija, 25. 3. 1963, 1.

48 Delo, 7. 8. 2017: Arhiv RS obogaten z zbirko o vidnejših osebnostih slovenskih korenin (https://old.delo.si/kultura/razno/arhiv-rs-obogaten-z-zbirko-o-vidnejsih-osebnostih-slovenskih-korenin.html, 2. 4. 2021).

49 Več o spremljanju britanske obveščevalne službe s strani SDV prim. Bajc, Melanšek & Friš, 2020.

50 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Anton Kovič, Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Ljubljana – oktober 1963, 4.

51 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-2, Emigracija, 25. 3. 1963, 1; MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 5. Prim. tudi: MA 3200-1, Emigracija na splošno, nedatirano, 1964, 2–3.

52 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 13. Glej tudi: MA 3200-2, Emigracija, 25. 3. 1963, 2.

pomočjo katerega je bilo mogoče emigracijo vezati nase. S pomočjo propagandnega dela naj bi vzpostavili „stik“ s somišljeniki v domovini in v diaspori, kot tudi „pravilno“ informirali zahodno javnost o stanju v Jugoslaviji.[53]

Izhajajoč iz zapisanega torej ne preseneča, da se je delovanje UDV v tujini zelo okrepilo. Tudi zato, ker so tedanje jugoslovanske oblasti odprle meje in omogočale svojim državljanom odhod v zahodno Evropo. Iz ohranjenega arhivskega gradiva je mogoče razbrati, da se je UDV znašla pred zahtevno nalogo: v prvi vrsti nadzorovanjem politične emigracije, tudi zdomcev, povratnikov iz tujine, štipendistov, študentov na univerzah v tujini, udeležencev študijskih potovanj, zaposlenih v podružnicah slovenskih podjetij v tujini. Nadzor nad vsemi omenjenimi kategorijami je izviral iz bojazni, da se bodo državljani v tujini navzeli vpliva protirežimskih idej in jih prinašali v Jugoslavijo. Obstajala pa je tudi bojazen, da bi jugoslovanski državljani v tujini postali sodelavci tujih obveščevalnih služb (Jenuš, 2013, 63) in drugih „ustreznih“ institucij, zlasti v ZDA, ZRN, Veliki Britanij, Avstraliji, Franciji in Španiji.[54] „*Del emigracije, predvsem povojne* […]“, je zapisala UDV v študiji o slovenski politični emigraciji iz oktobra 1963, „[…] *teži in se orientira na izrazito ekstremno aktivnost, diverzije, teror, organizacijo odporniških odborov itd., z izrazito tendenco prenašanja te aktivnosti v Jugoslavijo*.“[55]

V poročilu z dne 6. marca 1965 so zapisali, da delo UDV glede na zastavljene cilje in naloge v prejšnjih letih ni (bilo) povsem učinkovito, saj je zlasti informativno ter manj operativno in intenzivno. Število političnih emigrantov se je namreč večalo, prav tako njihov vpliv na delavce na začasnem delu in bivanju na tujem, tudi politična dejavnost v slovenskih manjšinah ter begunskih taboriščih je bila slabo nadzorovana, delno krivdo za nezadovoljive rezultate pa so pripisovali tudi slabi strukturi službe, nizkemu nivoju kvalitete sodelavcev, slabi organizaciji zvez, kadrovski problematiki, nepopolno analitično obdelavi emigrantskega tiska, ter „*nekontinuirano delo z inozemsko mrežo*“.[56]

V sredini šestdesetih je UDV negativne posledice delovanja slovenske politične emigracije videla predvsem v uspehu emigrantov za diskreditacijo Jugoslavije v določenih političnih in znanstvenih krogih ter javnosti v tujini, v zaviranju procesa hitrejšega razslojevanja in depolitizacije, v konkretnih javnih akcijah proti Jugoslaviji v inozemstvu ter v sami jugoslovanski državi zlasti pri obveščevalni dejavnosti preko jugoslovanskih (slovenskih) državljanov, propagandni dejavnosti na Slovenskem, razširjenih političnih idejah, ki prihajajo od politične emigracije od zunaj, in od tistih, ki so se vrnili ipd.[57] Čeprav v več poročilih konstantno zaznavamo komentarje, da

53 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 6.

54 ARS, AS 1931, t .e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Obveščevalna in subverzivna dejavnost preko politične emigracije, 24. 8. 1968, 1.

55 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 6.

56 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija, Ljubljana, 6. 3. 1965, 1–5.

57 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 17.

slovenska politična emigracija ne predstavlja večje grožnje jugoslovanskemu sistemu, pa so hkrati opozarjali, da bi slovenska politična emigracija „*predstavljala za vso našo družbo in SDV potencialnega sovražnika v pogojih izrednega stanja*“, zlasti ker je Slovenija predstavljala „*teritorialno prehodno področje za izvrševanje sovražnih akcij v ostalih republikah*“.[58]

Naloge, cilji in metode SDV so tako postali konkretnejši. Sredina šestdesetih je pri RSNZ prinesla ugotovitve, da politične emigracije v prihodnje ne gre podcenjevati, saj naj bi s pomočjo mlajše generacije skušali „*graditi sovražno akcijo proti Jugoslaviji*“. Potencialno nevarnost so tako obveščevalni in represivni organi videli v politično-obveščevalni dejavnosti. Emigracija se je namreč zanimala za podatke in informacije o jugoslovanskih političnih in upravnih organih, „[…] *v najširšem smislu pa za politično, upravno, kulturno-prosvetno in gospodarsko področje*.“ Zanimali naj bi jih predvsem podatki, ki bi jih bilo mogoče koristiti za diskreditacijo Jugoslavije na Zahodu, kot so odnos akademske mladine in mlade inteligence do družbene ureditve, vprašanje kulturne svobode, šovinizma v nacionalnih vprašanjih oz. nacionalno vprašanje nasploh, kot tudi pojav razdora znotraj posameznih skupin in odnosa do Vatikana ter Cerkve.[59]

Pomembno sredstvo slovenske politične emigracije je bila propaganda. V študiji iz leta 1963 so tako glede tega zapisali, da si je slovenska politična emigracija prizadevala povečati kvaliteto in aktualnost svojega tiska, da bi se lažje odzvala na aktualna politična vprašanja. V ta namen so tako pričeli z izgradnjo mreže dopisnikov v tuje liste in izkoriščati vse možnosti propagande, ki jim jo je nudilo sodelovanje v mednarodnih, emigrantskih in drugih organizacijah. Zlasti so se najrazličnejše emigrantske organizacije trudile, da bi svoj tisk plasirale med slovenske (jugoslovanske) državljane, ki so bili na raznih legalnih potovanjih po svetu.[60] UDV je kljub vsemu ugotavljala, da vsaj v šestdesetih letih, emigracija pri svojih prizadevanjih ni bila pretirano uspešna. Na voljo je imela kar 136 emigrantskih časopisov[61] in predvsem za v Evropi izhajajoče je ugotavljala, da so bili Jugoslaviji sovražno naravnani.[62]

Označili so, da je slovenska politična emigracija med najmanj agresivno kategorijo, a se zateka k milejšim načinom poskusov „*rušenja obstoječe družbene ureditve v Jugoslaviji*“, se infiltrira v vse veje številnih izseljenskih organizacij in jih poskuša usmeriti v protijugoslovansko dejavnost ter predstavlja podporo ekstremnim orga-

58 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Problemi SDV SR Slovenje v odnosu na obdelavo sovražne politične emigracije, 24. 8. 1968, 1.

59 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 13.

60 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 22.

61 53 jih je izhajalo v zahodni Evropi, od tega 21 v ZR Nemčiji (ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 22).

62 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 22.

nizacijam. Ugotovili so, da vprašanje politične emigracije ni zgolj problem državne varnosti, temveč so ga označili za širši družbeno-politični problem. V ta namen so sprejeli nove načine in pristope k problematiki politične emigracije, saj naj bi bilo nujno intenzivneje pristopati k akcijam razslojevanja, pasivizacije in depolitizacije emigracije ter jo pretvoriti v ekonomsko migracijo, pri čemer so želeli izkoristiti med drugim situacijo in možnosti, ki so nastale po sprejetju *Zakona o amnestiji*.[63] UDV si je na podlagi reševanja teh težav zadala naslednje naloge:

> *V naši orientaciji moramo izhajati iz širših pozicij in pri tem koristiti vse možnosti, ki se nam nudijo (kontrola potovanj, naši državljani na delu v inozemstvu, ustvarjanje novih pozicij pri izseljeništvu pa tudi v določenih krogih lojalne politične emigracije v SFRJ itd.). Razumljivo je, da mora biti naše ofenzivno delo predvsem usmerjeno na organizatorje in nosilce ter izvrševalce ekstremne aktivnosti, vendar moramo naše akcije usmeriti tudi na širšem planu v smislu zaostrovanja in potenciranja obstoječih ter ustvarjanjem novih nesoglasij in sporov, z ustvarjanjem strahu in nesigurnosti, politične promitacije ter zoževanje baz za sovražno delovanje.*[64]

Hkrati so se pri politični policiji v šestdesetih začeli zavedati tudi vpliva politične emigracije na vedno več delavcev na začasnem delu in bivanju v tujini (število delavcev se je po odprtju jugoslovanskih mej leta 1963 potenciralo), ki naj bi ob povratku v SRS spuščali „*razne negativne antisocialistične vplive v svojo okolico*“. Z odhajanjem Slovencev na delo v tujino so se pred politično policijo postavile nove naloge, saj so z „*novo emigracijo*“ odhajali tudi delavci in strokovnjaki iz Zveze komunistov Slovenije (ZKS) – politično policijo je skrbelo za njihovo „vzgojo“, vedno bolj pa jo je začel zanimati tudi odnos ekonomske migracije do Jugoslavije (Drnovšek, 1998, 244–245).

UDV je domnevala, da emigracija na delavce pritiska z grožnjami, fizičnimi napadi, „*preko svojih zvez s policijo na tujem vnaša med nje psihozo strahu*“ ter pridobiva nove člane s korupcijo, in sicer: „*Emigranti nastopajo kot posredniki za cenejše nakupe, zaposlitev, pribavo določenih dokumentov ipd. Ta dejavnost predstavlja za nas resen problem in to predvsem zaradi moralno političnega kvarjenja naših ljudi*.“[65] Slovenska politična emigracija naj bi poskušala do njih prodirat tako s tiskom kot z organizacijo slovenskih šol (zlasti večernih šol, kjer je bil osnovni poudarek na slovenščini in verouku), prireditev v bližnjih lokalih, kjer je koncentracija slovenskih delavcev na tujem večja, gradnjo slovenskih domov, kjer se je

63 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Problemi SDV SR Slovenje v odnosu na obdelavo sovražne politične emigracije, 24. 8. 1968, 4–5.

64 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Problemi SDV SR Slovenje v odnosu na obdelavo sovražne politične emigracije, 24. 8. 1968, 5–6.

65 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Naši državljani na delu v inozemstvu, točen datum neznan, 1964, 13–16.

načeloma odvijalo vse društveno, kulturno-prosvetno in zabavno življenje.[66] Kljub temu so ocenjevali, da je včlanjevanje v emigrantske organizacije s strani delavcev minimalno oz. gre zgolj za osamljene primere (zapišejo okoli 300 primerov), vendar pa so opozorili na vpliv emigrantske duhovščine, ki naj bi bil veliko večji.[67] Po letu 1963 sicer naj ne bi opažali več napadov „*teroristično diverzantskih skupin*", naj bi se pa povečale „*politične oblike boja*", zlasti zaradi pomlajevanja in boljše izobrazbe emigrantov.[68] SDV je zato glede slovenskih delavcev na začasnem delu in bivanju v tujini sredi šestdesetih predvidevala več angažiranosti „pozitivnih" delavcev in članov Zveze komunistov Jugoslavije, ki bi se infiltrirali v emigrantske skupine in poskušali zaustaviti oz. se zoperstaviti „pritiskom" politične emigracije. Za naloge si je postavila tudi ustvariti oporišča v inozemstvu, ki bi se politično zoperstavila politični emigraciji, razširiti mrežo sodelavcev SDV za pridobivanje informacij, angažirati ljudi, ki bi se infiltrirali med „sovražno emigracijo" in bi pomagali pri „*določenih konkretnih akcijah*" (za primer so zapisali onesposabljanje tiskarn, uničevanje propagandnega materiala ipd.), povečati število razgovorov z delavci, ki imajo namen oditi na delo in začasno bivanje v tujino ter privzeti represivnejše ukrepe proti tistim, za katere so ugotovili, da „*so se v inozemstvu škodljivo ali sovražno obnašali ali bili poslani po nalogah emigracije*".[69]

Tako je v zadane cilje in naloge za nadaljnje delo glede politične emigracije sredi šestdesetih let RSNZ poskušal za problem emigracije vključiti vsa področja dela Sekretariata pa tudi izven njega (državno varnost, milico, občinske organe za notranje zadeve, Slovensko izseljensko matico idr.), ki bi o emigraciji morala biti ustrezno informirana (poznati prijatelje, svojce in zgodovino emigrantov) ter bi morala poznati metode in oblike „sovražnega" delovanja.[70] Za naloge so predvidevali pisanje in razširjanje letakov s ciljem zaostrovati spore med emigracijo, „*razbijanje emigrantskih kongresov, konferenc, shodov in političnih manifestacij*". Pri tem naj bi izkoristili vse svoje informatorje in agente, ki naj bi se „*v borbi proti sovražni dejavnosti emigracije*" posluževali zlasti dezinformacij za namene širjenja nezaupanja emigraciji in razdiranje enotnosti, fizičnega nasilja in ostalih sredstev „*za motenje normalnega dela teh shodov*", pri čemer so predvidevali celo uporabo raznih kemikalij (v poročilu ni navedeno, katere kemikalije naj bi bile predvidene za morebitno uporabo, zgolj njihove učinke), ki izzivajo srbež, solze, smrad ipd.[71] Tajna politična policija je

66 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Informacija o slovenski politični emigraciji, datum neznan 1969, 30.

67 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Obveščevalna in subverzivna dejavnost preko politične emigracije, 24. 8. 1968, 2.

68 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Informacija o slovenski politični emigraciji, datum neznan 1969, 6.

69 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Naši državljani na delu v inozemstvu, točen datum neznan, 1964, 9.

70 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Naši državljani na delu v inozemstvu, točen datum neznan, 1964, 10.

71 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na splošno, nedatirano, 1964, 6.

bila primarno angažirana za preprečevanje najbolj ekstremnih oblik „sovražnega“ delovanja ter je sodelovala ali sama izvajala akcije nad vso jugoslovansko in ne le slovensko emigracijo. Obdelovala in spremljala je delovanje emigracije v korist tujih obveščevalnih služb na področju Slovenije in tujine, obdelovala je obveščevalno „problematične“ povratnike, proučevala in dokumentirala je vse gradivo, ki je obravnavalo „sovražno“ delovanje, o ugotovitvah informirala zainteresirane institucije tudi izven RSNZ.[72]

Kljub temu so si za najnujnejšo nalogo postavili konkretnejše operativno delo in konstantni nadzor nad posamezniki (zlasti Francem Jezo, Janezom Zdešarjem, Ljubom Sircem, ob koncu šestdesetih pa še Vladimirjem Levstikom) ter emigrantskimi političnimi organizacijami, vzpostavitev operativnih lokacijskih točk (npr. lokalov v bližini krajev, kjer je emigracija sestankovala), povečanje delovne sile med sodelavci, se osredotočati na preventivno delo pri kontroli potovanj in boljše sodelovanje med SDV in ostalimi službami RSNZ.[73]

Ob koncu šestdesetih je v splošnem poročilu SDV navedla, da je za emigracijo opravila 21 obdelav, zasegla 1385 legalno ali ilegalno poslanega gradiva v slovenščini in 41 v ostalih jugoslovanskih jezikih, povečala spremljanje dveh „sovražno aktivnih“ emigrantov, ki sta obiskala SRS ter izvedla 5 operativnih akcij proti emigrantom ostalih republik Jugoslavije.[74]

SPREMLJANJE EMIGRANTSKIH ORGANIZACIJ

Slovenska politična emigracija je svojo dejavnost širila zlasti v okviru raznih emigrantskih organizacij. Pri slovenski politični policiji so bili v šestdesetih pozorni na vse organizacije, ki so jih smatrali za „sovražne“ jugoslovanskemu političnemu sistemu. Zanimivo je, da je skozi vsa šestdeseta poudarjala, da slovenska politična emigracija ne predstavlja posebne grožnje, pa vendar so problematiki emigrantov in emigrantskega tiska posvečali zelo veliko, če ne največ pozornosti, natančno ter neumorno spremljali in analizirali vsako izdano publikacijo, časopis, revije in brošure in vse dejavnosti emigrantov, ki so se zbirali v okviru emigrantskih organizacij, ter njihov vpliv na v tujini živeče Slovence. V celotnem desetletju so z nadzorom s strani politične policije bile pokrite vse tuje države, kjer so obstajale večje organizacije slovenske politične emigracije. Skozi celotno desetletje so poskušali za namene lažje in bolj specifične analize slovensko politično emigracijo predalčkati in jo deliti na posamezne frakcije: poskušali so z razdelitvijo glede na manj in bolj „sovražno“ delovanje, nato glede na cilje slovenske politične emigracije“, pa glede na metode delovanja ter ob koncu šestdesetih glede na idejne usmeritve.

72 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Problemi SDV SE Slovenije v odnosu na obdelavo sovražne politične emigracije, 24. 8. 1968, 1–4.

73 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija, Ljubljana, 6. 3. 1965, 1–2; MA 3200-1, Problemi SDV SE Slovenije v odnosu na obdelavo sovražne politične emigracije, 24. 8. 1968, 4.

74 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Problemi SDV SE Slovenije v odnosu na obdelavo sovražne politične emigracije, 24. 8. 1968, 4.

Začetek šestdesetih v svetu je zaznamovala zlasti mednarodna politična situacija, izražena skozi blokovska nasprotja med ZDA in Sovjetsko zvezo oz. Zahod – Vzhod, zaradi česar so se v zahodnih državah začele krepiti protikomunistične „kampanje“. To se je odražalo tako zunaj države kot tudi v njej. Zaostrovanja so se pojavljala tudi v jugoslovanskem vrhu, saj se je tudi slovensko časopisje s kulturnimi revijami udejstvovalo s članki o kritičnih pogledih na politična, družbena in nacionalna razmerja (prevladovale so teme o demokratizaciji kulturnega in političnega prostora), ki jih je pisala slovenska kulturna inteligenca (Šela & Friš, 2017, 825), začela pa so se pisati tudi dela, ki so odpirala tabuizirane teme, kot so bile likvidacije, Goli otok ipd. (Nežmah, 2020, 131–132). Pri UDV so v poročilu iz oktobra 1963 tako beležili,[75] da od začetka šestdesetih opažajo porast „sovražne“ aktivnosti proti Jugoslaviji tako v inozemstvu kot tudi na domačih tleh prav zaradi povečanja izražanja stališč politične emigracije o odnosu do komunističnega režima, med drugim pa tudi zaradi določene zaostritve odnosov med ZDA in Jugoslavijo ter zaradi sprejetega *Zakona o amnestiji*.

Že leta 1960 so glede na nastanek razdelili tri skupine emigracije: t. i. politemigracijo, ekonomske izseljence ter slovensko manjšino. Zlasti so bili pozorni na politično emigracijo, in kot že zapisano, na tisto, ki naj bi delovala „sovražno“ in imela tudi velik vpliv tako v zamejstvu kot tudi pri ekonomskih emigrantih.[76] Splošne značilnosti slovenske politične emigracije so bile po analizi UDV iz leta 1960 naslednje: dobra organiziranost vodstva emigracijskih skupin; dobro prilagajanje novim pogojem v smeri ustvarjanja enotnosti v celotni jugoslovanski emigraciji; trud za to, da določeni politični emigranti obdržijo vpliv v mednarodnih političnih organizacijah; dobra in široka organizacija politično-obveščevalne dejavnosti, ki je zagotavljala redni dotok informacij; povečan vpliv na ekonomsko emigracijo ter dobra propagandna dejavnost.[77]

Nadalje naštete organizacije in skupine slovenske politične emigracije so prikazane skozi oči poročil slovenske tajne politične policije. Glede na obseg in stopnjo „sovražne“ aktivnosti jih je UDV nadalje razdelila v dve kategoriji; prvo, ki na bi terjala „intenzivno akcijo“, in drugo, „*pri kateri v glavnem zadošča informativno spremljanje*“.[78] Pri tem naj bi bili glede na dejavnosti proti Sloveniji za slovensko politično emigracijo značilni dve obliki „sovražnega delovanja“: obveščevalno delovanje v korist tujih obveščevalnih služb (zlasti s pomočjo povratnikov oz. repatriirancev) ter idejno-politično propagandno delovanje.[79]

75 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 1–2.

76 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Naloge in možnosti postaj LM pri obravnavanju emigracije, ilegalnih kanalov in povratnikov, 5. 4. 1961, 1–4.

77 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Naloge in možnosti postaj LM pri obravnavanju emigracije, ilegalnih kanalov in povratnikov, 5. 4. 1961, 16.

78 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963.

79 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Obveščevalna in subverzivna dejavnost preko politične emigracije, 24. 8. 1968, 4–5.

V prvo kategorijo, ki je terjala intenzivno spremljanje, so spadale: OSP, ki naj bi „*najsovražneje*“ delovala v ZRN in skandinavskih državah. OSP je bila ustanovljena leta 1958 s privolitvijo Glavnega odbora Zveze slovenskih protikomunističnih borcev (ZSPB)[80], ki je imela sedež v Clevelandu. UDV je označila ZSPB, da je kot „*v nekem smislu formacija s polvojaškim značajem*“.[81] Združevala naj bi nekdanje domobrance in pripadnike vaških straž v emigraciji. Izdajali so časopis *Vestnik*, ki je izhajal enkrat mesečno v nakladi od 11.000 do 15.000 izvodov. Ob sedežu v ZDA, so imeli svoja predstavništva tudi v Italiji, Francij in Avstriji. Zaradi ostrejših notranjih nasprotij se je z odcepom posameznikov, ki so stremeli k ideji samostojne Slovenije, ustvarila tudi samostojna organizacija Zveza slovenskih protikomunističnih borcev – Tabor (izdajali so istoimenski časopis)[82] v Buenos Airesu, predstavnik katere je bil Jože Borštnik. Duhovnik Janez Zdešar je za zastopnika Zveze v ZRN predlagal Janeza Topliška, ki je prevzel vlogo najprej zastopnika USPB za ZRN, ki se je potem preimenovala in reorganizirala v OSP (Ramšak, 2011, 203). Po oceni UDV je prav po reorganizaciji skupina začela z ekstremnimi aktivnostmi v svoji sovražni dejavnosti, pri čemer je v svoj program skušala vključevati tudi ostalo jugoslovansko emigracijo (zlasti hrvaško in srbsko), kar je poskušala tudi preko Zveze organizacij beguncev iz Jugoslavije, v katero je bil vključen glavni odbor OSP. Ta je leta 1962 izdal letak, v katerem so napovedali „*brezkompromisni boj proti komunizmu in komunistom, ki vladajo z nasiljem in diktaturo nad slovenskim rodom*.“[83]

Glavni odbor OSP ZSPB je prav tako spodbujala stike Topliška z drugo organizacijo „*prve kategorije sovražnosti*“,[84] Akcijskim odborom za neodvisno Slovenijo v Trstu in s podružnicami na Koroškem. AONS je začel sicer delovati v Münchnu v začetku šestdesetih let, leta 1964 so nato začeli izdajati glasilo *Slovenska svoboda*. Hkrati z münchenskim je s svojo aktivnostjo začel tudi AONS v Trstu (1961) pod vodstvom Franca Jeze.[85] V začetku šestdesetih je zlasti buril duhove z razpečevanjem že omenjenih propagandnih letakov («Poslanica slovenskemu narodu za novo leto 1962» in naslednje leto tudi za 1963 «Slovenskemu narodu») s pozivi za zavzemanje za pravice Slovenije v odnosu do Beograda, ki so jih pošiljali tudi slovenskih državnim funkcionarjem. Slovenska politična policija je glede na kvaliteto propagandnega delovanja, ki

80 Zveza slovenskih komunističnih borcev s sedežem v Clevelandu je spadala v II. kategorijo spremljanja emigracije s strani slovenske politične policije, za bolj problematično so meli zgolj njeno „*podružnico*“ v ZRN.

81 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Naloge in možnosti postaj LM pri obravnavanju emigracije, ilegalnih kanalov in povratnikov, 5. 4. 1961, 6–9.

82 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Informacija o slovenski politični emigraciji, datum neznan 1969, 13.

83 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 34–35.

84 ARS, AS 1931, t.e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 30–31.

85 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1176, AONS, Informacija: „Gibanje za samostojno slovensko državo“ – obdelava „Separatist“; anononimke „Akcijskega odbora za neodvisno Slovenijo“ iz Trsta, 23. 2. 1963.

je temeljilo na protikomunistični osnovi in bilo usmerjeno ne na nezadovoljneže ali nasprotnike komunistov, temveč na nosilce slovenske oblasti, sklepala, da AONS do take preorientacije ni prišel povsem sam, temveč s pomočjo zlasti ameriških obveščevalnih služb.

> *Iz zasledovanja interesov ameriške obveščevalne službe je znano, da se njeni predstavniki interesirajo za razno razne stvari in dogajanja in je možno, da dajejo podporo taki aktivnosti. Očitno je, da je ameriška obveščevalna služba, na osnovi svojih analiz (o pojavih slovenskega nacionalizma, o različnosti raznih konceptov vodečih političnih osebnosti) poleg ostalih dala tako orientacijo in linijo tudi Akcijskemu odboru za neodvisno Slovenijo.*[86]

SDV je ob koncu šestdesetih let tako ocenila, da je bila od leta 1962 do 1965 vloga odbora v smislu obveščevalne in propagandne aktivnosti „*dokaj intenzivna*“ in je dobivala, kot so zapisali, „*ekstremno subverzivne oblike*“.[87]

Naslednja skupina, ki jo je slovenska politična policija označila za sovražno prve kategorije, je bila Liberalna internacionala, ki je združevala liberalne stranke. Kot je leta 2015 razložil predstavnik slovenske Liberalne internacionale, Ljubo Sirc, je „*predstavljala združenje liberalno mislečih.*“ (Sirc, 2015a). Svoj sedež za Evropo je imela v Londonu in je zajemala emigrante, ki so svojo dejavnost orientirali s pozicij znanstvenega delovanja ter zbirali ter objavljali podatke politično-ekonomskega značaja. Ljubo Sirc je imel dobre povezave tudi z angleškimi vladnimi funkcionarji, sumili so, da sodeluje tudi z obveščevalno službo, bil je med drugim zaposlen v Inštitutu za gospodarske zadeve (*Institut of Economical Affairs*), organizacija pa je sodelovala tudi z angleškimi mediji, zlasti z BBC.[88]

Naslednji na seznamu „sovražnih“ organizacij prve kategorije sta bili tudi Zveza Slovencev v inozemstvu (emigrantska duhovščina) oz. Slovenska izseljenska zveza, ki je bila ustanovljena z namenom povezati vse emigrante v Evropi ne glede na vzrok odhoda iz Jugoslavije in je vključevala tudi precej emigrantskih duhovnikov, po oceni UDV kar okoli 200.[89] Ob njima je na seznamu sledila Organizacija slovenskih študentov v Münchnu in Fribourgu, ki je delovala pod vodstvom Ludvika Vrtačiča, najaktivnejša člana pa sta bila med

86 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 44.

87 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Informacija o slovenski politični emigraciji, datum neznan 1969, 10.

88 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 48–50. O sumničenju Sirca prim. Bajc, Melanšek & Friš, 2020, 847, 862.

89 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Politična emigracija, Ljubljana 8. 7. 1960, 6–7.

drugimi tudi Mitja Bregant in Branko Pistivšek.[90] Ustanovljena je bila leta 1958. Za svoj program si je zadala neodvisno Slovenijo v okviru evropske skupnosti, ki upošteva in sprejema vse socialne spremembe, ki so nastale v Jugoslaviji. SDV je bila pri organizaciji pozorna zlasti na stike, ki jih je organizacija vzpostavljala zlasti v slovenskem zamejstvu ter na področju LRS.[91]

V drugo kategorijo „sovražnosti“, ki ne potrebuje aktivnejših akcij, pa so uvrstili Gibanje za samostojno slovensko državo s sedežem v Torontu in točkami v Avstriji ter Italiji. Sestavljeno naj bi bilo zlasti iz „Stražarjev“ (Akademskega kluba Straža), ki so bili „*odločni nasprotniki komunizma in to že pred vojno*“, v boljševizmu so videli največjo nevarnost tako za slovenski narod kot za krščansko kulturo (Griesser Pečar, 2018, 279). Ustanovljeno je bilo leta 1958 s sedežem v Torontu, Kanadi pa tudi v ZDA. Njen predsednik in organizator je bil Ciril Žebot, ki je prav tako pomagal ustanoviti časnik S*lovenska država* (Griesser Pečar, 2018, 282, 287). Imeli so sodelavce v ZDA, Avstriji, Nemčiji in Italiji. Šlo je za organizacijo, ki je povezovala vse skupine in društva politične emigracije, katerih koncept je bil samostojna slovenska država, odklanjali pa so idejo skupne jugoslovanske države. Skupina je v začetku šestdesetih po ocenah UDV imela okoli 150 članov, zlasti mlajše, intelektualce, politične in družbene delavce. Njihova glavna usmeritev je bila obveščanje in širjenje lastnih idej skozi emigrantski tisk predvsem v zamejstvu (v Trstu in Celovcu).[92]

Prav tako v drugo kategorijo je padla Slovenska ljudska stranka (SLS) v emigraciji s sedežem v Clevelandu ter svojimi točkami drugod po svetu oz. Slovenska krščanska demokracija (SKD) (ime so prevzeli zaradi vključenosti v nekatere mednarodne organizacije), glavni predstavnik katere je bil prvak SLS, Miha Krek. Šlo je za povezavo med več evropskimi strankami krščanskih demokratov, torej s podobnimi nazori. SLS je bila osrednja in najmočnejša politična skupina med slovensko politično emigracijo, saj je povezovala vso katoliško orientirano emigracijo (razen tistih, ki so bili del Gibanja za samostojno slovensko državo) in imela tako podporo celotne slovenske emigrantske duhovščine.[93] Zavzemali so se za strmoglavljenje komunističnih režimov, razvijali pa so idejo o Združeni Evropi (Nared, 2001, 137). Pomembnejši predstavniki slovenske krščanske demokracije so bili Krek (v Clevelandu), Franjo Sekulec (v Londonu) in Miloš Stare (v Buenos Airesu).[94] V Argentini je stranka organizirala tudi organizacijo Društvo Slovencev, ki se je 28. februarja 1962 preimenovalo v

90 Več o delovanju Pistivška in kako mu je SDV sledila v Friš & Hazemali, 2017, 807–822.

91 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Politična emigracija, Ljubljana 8. 7. 1960, 3–4.

92 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Naloge in možnosti postaj LM pri obravnavanju emigracije, ilegalnih kanalov in povratnikov, 5. 4. 1961, 6–9.

93 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 54–55.

94 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 9.

Zedinjeno Slovenijo (Jevnikar, 1996, 99). Dobro so tudi imeli organiziran tisk: glasilo *Svobodna Slovenija*, ki je izhajalo kot priloga *Ameriške domovine*, organizacijsko glasilo *Domoljub* ter več manjših listov, *Slovenija*, *Slovenska beseda*, *Družabna pravda*, *Pismo* idr. Pod neposrednim vplivom naj bi bila tudi Slovenska kulturna akcija (SKA), ki je izdajala več revij, kjer so objavljali emigranti ne glede na pripadnost posamezni politični organizaciji (med predstavniki je bil npr. Tine Debeljak), npr. redno glasilo *Glas slovenske kulturne akcije*, filozofsko glasilo *Vrednote* in literarno glasilo *Meddobja*.[95] Lastnosti SKD so bile po ocenah SDV: višja izobrazba članov in s tem povezana strokovnost, večja rutina v delovanju in boljše sodelovanje z novejšimi izseljenci.[96] Slovenska SLS je sicer delovala v okviru Slovenskega narodnega odbora, takratnega predstavnika že predvojnih meščanskih strank, pri čemer je bila SLS najštevilčnejša. UDV ga je označila kot del „*enodnevne slovenske vlade, prva leta po prihodu v emigracijo se je imenoval Slovenski narodni svet*“, ki je imel skupnega predstavnika slovenske emigracije.[97]

Kategorijo informativnega spremljanja je predstavljala tudi organizacija Stara pravda s sedežem v Londonu, kjer je bil tudi največji del aktivnih članov. Po oceni politične policije naj bi organizacija imela okoli 15 aktivnih članov in 100 somišljenikov s pretežno „*solidno intelektualno strukturo*“.[98] Izdajali so glasilo *Klic Triglava*, kjer so glavni predstavniki (npr. urednik Dušan Pleničar) izražali svoje ideje o nedeljivosti jugoslovanskega državnega prostora in o večji samostojnosti Sloveniji v demokratično urejeni Jugoslaviji zahodnega tipa. UDV je pri tem zapisala, da svoje glasilo „*dajejo v proučevanje našim državljanom, ko se ti nahajajo v inozemstvu z naročilom, da material pred vrnitvijo v Jugoslavijo uničijo*“.[99] Po UDV naj bi šlo v glavnem za „*ostanke slovenske ljotičevske*[100] *skupine*“, ki so se ji kasneje priključili še drugi politični emigranti, po politični pripadnosti zlasti liberalci.[101]

V drugi kategoriji spremljanja sta bili že omenjena Zveza slovenskih komunističnih borcev iz Clevelanda, Rima, Gorice (pa tudi na Koroškem in v Franciji) in Slovenska demokratska stranka iz Pariza, ustanovljena leta 1958 iz

95 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 54–55.

96 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Informacija o slovenski politični emigraciji, datum neznan 1969, 30.

97 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Naloge in možnosti postaj LM pri obravnavanju emigracije, ilegalnih kanalov in povratnikov, 5. 4. 1961, 6–9.

98 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Informacija o slovenski politični emigraciji, datum neznan 1969, 9.

99 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 56.

100 Ljotičevci – pripadniki *Srpskega dobrovoljačkega korpusa*, vojna formacija, ki jo je ustanovil Dimitrije Ljotić oktobra 1941 in je delovala pod poveljstvom *Wehrmachta* v Srbiji.

101 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 9.

„*ostankov liberalnega tabora*“, ki naj bi „*mobilizirala*“ slovensko „opozicijo“ tako v zamejstvu kot na območju FLRJ in program katere je bil svobodna demokratična Jugoslavija.[102] Od manjšinskih strank so v drugo kategorijo sovražnosti uvrstili tudi Slovensko demokratsko zvezo v Trstu in Gorici, Slovensko katoliško skupnost v Italiji in Narodni svet koroških Slovencev.[103] V šestdesetih letih je v okviru slovenskih manjšin, zlasti na Tržaškem, nastalo več novih literarno-kritčnih revij, ki niso bile v sozvočju z ljubljanskimi oblastmi. Leta 1964 je začela izhajati npr. revija za leposlovje in kulturo *Most*, ki se je osredotočala na globalne intelektualne razprave ob tržaški kulturni podlagi in bila zaradi kritičnosti do jugoslovanskega sistema deležna vrsto šikaniranj in prepovedi uvoza (Šela & Matjašič Friš, 2019, 676).

UDV je sicer za prvo polovico šestdesetih let sicer ugotavljala, da je slovenske ekstremne emigracije, ki bi potrebovala „*aktivno operativno spremljanje*“, manj ter da prevladuje politična emigracija, ki jo sestavlja zlasti inteligenca. V splošnem poročilu o slovenski politični emigraciji za leto 1965 so zapisali,[104] da so organizacije slovenske politične emigracije vsa leta svojega obstoja vodile boj za lastni obstoj in politično uveljavitev. Tako so tudi v letnem poročilu za leto 1959 trdili, da sta „*vpliv in pomembnost slovenske politične emigracije na Zapadu v stalnem upadanju*“.[105] Zaradi sorazmerno velikega števila političnih organizacij in s tem tudi razdrobljenosti slovenske emigracije ter zaradi mednarodnih političnih razmer naj se nobena slovenska politična emigrantska organizacija ne bi povzpela na tak nivo, da bi predstavljala resno grožnjo Jugoslaviji.[106]

SDV je v drugi polovici šestdesetih slovensko politično emigracijo glede na svoje cilje razdelila v dve skupini: tisto, ki je SFRJ videla v smislu bolj demokratične, enotne in svobodne Jugoslavije, in tisto, ki je slovenski status videla v smislu samostojne slovenske države oz. konfederativnega statusa Slovenije v jugoslovanski skupnosti. SDV je ugotavljala, da so prav ta različna politična izhodišča organizacij slovenske politične emigracije o statusu Slovenije (samostojne, v konfederaciji ipd.) glavni faktor za akcijsko neenotnost slovenske

102 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Politična emigracija, Ljubljana 8. 7. 1960, 5.

103 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Naloge in možnosti postaj LM pri obravnavanju emigracije, ilegalnih kanalov in povratnikov, 5. 4. 1961, 6–9.

104 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 1–17.

105 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do leta 1963), Politična emigracija, Ljubljana, 8. 2. 1960, 2; Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 61–64.

106 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 2.

politične emigracije.[107] Taka razdelitev[108] je sicer veljala že vse od konca druge svetovne vojne (Nared, 2001, 134).

Predstavna organizacija[109], ki je zagovarjala samostojno Slovenijo, je po ocenah SDV v prvi vrsti bila Akcijski odbor za neodvisno Slovenijo – po besedah Jureta Ramšaka (2010, 966) naj bi se ideja o samostojni Sloveniji razširila prav od njegove ustanovitve v Münchnu. Pod to kategorijo je spadalo tudi Gibanje za samostojno slovensko državo ter Slovensko državno gibanje, ustanovljeno leta 1964 v Buenos Airesu in z oporišči v Italiji in Avstriji. Vodili so ga Vuk Rupnik, Pavle Verbic in Demetrij Veble, ki so tudi izdajali glasilo *Smer v slovensko državo*. Jedro skupine je v šestdesetih tvorila skupina mlajših političnih emigrantov, ki se je odcepila od Slovenske krščanske demokracije. Sodelovali so tudi z Akcijskim odborom za neodvisno Slovenijo ter Cirilom Žebotom.[110] Na te tri omenjene politične organizacije pa naj bi se vezala še že omenjene Zveza protikomunističnih borcev s sedežem v Clevelandu, Zveza slovenskih protikomunističnih borcev – Tabor s sedežem v Buenos Airesu ter Topliškova Organizacija slovenskih protikomunistov v ZRN.[111] Predstavniki organizaciji skupin, ki so zagovarjale svobodno demokratično jugoslovansko državno skupnost, pa so po poročilu bile Stara pravda ter politične organizacije stare vojne politične emigracije, združene v skupnem predstavništvu Slovenskega narodnega odbora (SNO) (SKD, stranka socialdemokratov in liberalcev), ob teh pa še slovenska nacionalna skupina JDS, ki ni bila vključena v SNO.[112]

Po ocenah SDV je imela SKD na začetku šestdesetih največ članstva, a je SDV opozarjala na določne manj članske skupine, ki so bile vztrajne z bojem proti političnemu sistemu v tedanji Jugoslaviji in so konstantno usmerjale svoje moči v propagando proti njej. Ugotavljali so, da ima zaradi vse večje mednarodne vloge SFRJ namreč slovenska politična emigracija vedno manj politične in moralne podpore s strani zahodnih političnih in oblastnih organov, kar povzroča, da se emigracija vedno bolj opira zlasti na tuje obveščevalne agenture in posameznike, ki jih je SDV označila za „*skrajno desničarske reakcioniste*“.

107 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 2.

108 Takoj po drugi svetovni vojni je za idejo o Sloveniji v okviru bolj demokratične Jugoslavije zlasti spadalo delovanje Narodnega odbora za Slovenijo, ki je bil sestavljen iz članov Slovenske ljudske stranke (SLS), Slovenske demokratske stranke (SDS) in Socialistične stranke Jugoslavije (SSJ). V skupine, ki so se zavzemale za suvereno in neodvisno slovensko državo, pa je spadal zlasti Akcijski odbor za zedinjeno in suvereno slovensko državo (Nared, 2001, 134).

109 Ob teh kot „podružne“ organizacije SDV navaja še naslednje organizacije: Zveza slovenskih protikomunističnih borcev s sedežem v Clevelandu, Zvezo slovenskih protikomunističnih borcev – Tabor s sedežem v Buenos Airesu, Organizacija slovenskih protikomunistov s sedežem v Zahodni Nemčiji.

110 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Informacija o slovenski politični emigraciji, datum neznan 1969, 11–12.

111 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 8.

112 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 13.

Ti naj bi slovenske politične emigrantske skupine spodbujali k odpravljanju nesoglasij med organizacijami, k enotnosti ter k poskusu sprejetja enotnega, političnega akcijskega programa, ki bi omogočil enotno nastopanje proti SFRJ – torej iz slovenskih političnih organizacij ustvariti status resnega političnega faktorja v smislu alternative družbenopolitični ureditvi SFRJ.[113]

Eno glavnih težav je SDV videla pri naraščajoči skupini slovenske politične emigracije, ki je zagovarjala idejo o samostojni Sloveniji (v drugi polovici šestdesetih naj bi skupina organizacij, ki je zagovarjala svobodno demokratično jugoslovansko skupnost, zamirala ali stagnirala). Zlasti sta to bila Zveza slovenskih protikomunistov in Akcijski odbor za neodvisno Slovenijo, pri čemer naj bi bilo – za SDV – zaskrbljujoče predvsem to, da so cilji takih organizacij politične emigracije postajali dejavnejši zlasti v tisku, kjer so opozarjali, da je svobodna in samostojna Slovenija edina možna alternativa, kar je odmevalo tako mednarodno kot tudi v Jugoslaviji.

> *Rezultati take dejavnosti se poleg drugih komponent kažejo tudi v dejstvu, da „problem“ v večjem številu registrirajo tudi pomembni zapadni listi in nekateri politični krogi. Vplivi tega gibanja ugotavljamo tudi pri nekaterih naših politično negativno ali celo sovražno usmerjenih državljanih SFRJ, posebej iz vrst inteligence.*[114]

Ob že omenjenih organizacijah so v šestdesetih delovale še mednarodne politične organizacije, kjer je sodelovala slovenska politična emigracija, po ocenah SDV z namenom deskreditiranja SFRJ, in sicer: Nacionalni komite za svobodno Evropo (NCFE) sedežem v ZDA, Liberalna internacionala s sedežem v Veliki Britaniji, Krščansko demokratska unija za srednjo Evropo (CDUCE) s sedežem v ZDA. V SDV so omenili še jugoslovanski emigrantski organizaciji, kjer je slovenska politična emigracija sodelovala: Južnoslavenski demokratski savez s sedežem v Zvezni republiki Nemčiji in Študijski center za jugoslovanske zadeve s sedežem v Veliki Britaniji. Po informacijah SDV je bilo v času nastanka poročila „sovražno aktivnih“ 64 slovenskih političnih emigrantov, od tega 44 zagovornikov samostojne Slovenije in 20 zagovornikov enotne in svobodne demokratične jugoslovanske skupnosti. Od skupnega števila naj bi jih 27 delovalo v Evropi, največ v ZRN, Franciji in Veliki Britaniji.[115]

Marca leta 1963 so posamezni vidnejši predstavniki jugoslovanske (zlasti srbske, hrvaške in slovenske) emigracije z namenom dosega večje enotnosti, saj so se sami zavedali notranjih nesoglasij (Žigon, 2001, 123–124), pripravili sestanek

113 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 2.

114 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 11.

115 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 5–10.

v Stanstedu, blizu Londona, kjer naj bi pripravili načrt predloga demokratske alternative Jugoslavije. Udeležili naj bi se ga Miha Krek, Franjo Sekulec, Nace Čretnik (Slovenska krščanska demokracija), Branko Pešelj in Ilija Jukič (*Hrvatska seljačka stranka*), Vladimir Predavec in Ljubo Sirc (Liberalna internacionala), Desimir Tosič, Boždar Vlajić, Vane Ivanovič (*Oslobodjenje*); SDV je ugotovila, da je bil ravno on iniciator konference in naj bi bil znani agent angleške obveščevalne službe.[116] Tako je o pričujočem sestanku v intervjuju leta 2015 zapisal Ljubo Sirc, ki med drugim potrdi informacije o sestanku, ki jih je zapisala SDV: „[…] *sestajali* [smo se] *leto za letom, čeprav je vse ostajalo preveč na akademski ravni. Enkrat se je srečanja udeležil tudi Ciril Žebot, ki pa je govoril v angleščini, kar je povzročilo precejšnje začudenje.*“ (Sirc, 2015b)

Namen sestanka je bil ustvariti načrt predloga demokratske alternative za tedanji komunistični režim, pri čemer naj bi sodelovala emigracija vseh narodov Jugoslavije. Pri tem so poudarili zlasti možnost odločanja posameznih narodov za samostojno državo ali za pristanek za bolj demokratično jugoslovansko skupnost, ki bi pomenila enakopravnost suverenih držav znotraj skupnosti, kar bi dosegli z demokratičnimi volitvami. Skupina emigrantov je pripravila načrt za državno ureditev, strukturo morebitne zvezne oblasti: parlamenta, uprave in sodišča in predstavili predloge za suverenost na teh področjih s strani posameznih držav (npr. „*vsaka država ohranja in razpolaga z lastnimi oboroženimi silami* […] *vsaka država ima svojo notranjo upravo in varnostno službo* […] *vsaka država ima pravico, da izstopi iz zveze ako tako na posebej za to opravljenem plebiscitu odloči večina prebivalcev dotične države* […]“[117] itd.). SDV je po analizi načrta ugotovila, da so odmevi in odzivi na načrt različni, pri čemer imajo odklonilni odnos zlasti Srbi, največji podpornik pa naj bi bila slovenska politična emigracija, zlasti Miha Krek.[118]

> *Da bi se dosegla trajno pomirjenje med narodi Jugoslavije in skupna fronta v borbi proti današnjemu komunističnemu redu ter zagotovitev njihovih narodnih, političnih in splošnih človekovih pravic, je nujno potrebno, da se poveže čim več njihovih narodnih sil za skupno akcijo.*[119]

---

116 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, *Nekateri odprti problemi*, Ljubljana, 24. 2. 1964, 4.

117 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu – splošno (do 1963), Prepis dopolnilne izjave k načrtu demokratske alternative, priloženo Informaciji: Stansteadski sestanek. Nekateri predstavniki srbske, hrvatske in slovenske emigracije so razpravljali o bodočnosti nekomunistične Jugoslavije, Sestavil Milan Gombač, Ljubljana, 25. 12. 1963, 4–6 (original prepisa nastal v Stansteadu, 21. – 24. marca 1963).

118 ARS, AS 1931, t.e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu – splošno (do 1963), Informacija Stansteadski sestanek. Nekateri predstavniki srbske, hrvatske in slovenske emigracije so razpravljali o bodočnosti nekomunistične Jugoslavije, Sestavil Milan Gombač, Ljubljana, 25. 12. 1963, 3.

119 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu – splošno (do 1963), Prepis dopolnilne izjave k načrtu demokratske alternative, priloženo Informaciji: Stansteadski sestanek. Nekateri predstavniki srbske, hrvatske in slovenske emigracije so razpravljali o bodočnosti nekomunistične Jugoslavije, Sestavil Milan Gombač, Ljubljana, 25. 12. 1963, 1 (original prepisa nastal v Stansteadu, 21.–24. marca 1963).

Nadalje je SDV v analizi ob koncu šestdesetih let obstoječe emigrantske organizacije razdelila tudi na tiste, ki so predstavljale ostanke predvojnih političnih strank (Slovenska krščanska demokracija oz. SLS, liberalna stranka, socialdemokratske stranka), na tiste, ki so se kot politične organizacije formirale v tujini, čeprav so imele nekatere svoje zametke že v raznih predvojnih klubih, društvih ipd. (npr. Gibanje za samostojno slovensko državo, Stara pravda), ter tiste, ki so nastale povsem v tujini (Akcijski odbor za neodvisno Slovenijo, Slovensko državno gibanje). Poleg teh glavnih skupin pa so ločili še organizacije, ki si niso prilaščale statusa politične organizacije, npr. Zveza društev slovenskih protikomunističnih borcev, Slovenska kulturna akcija in Akademski klub Sava s centrom v New Yorku. Slednji je predstavljal jedro mladih, predvsem katoliško orientiranih izobražencev in študentov, v pretežni meri otrok političnih emigrantov, ki so ob koncu vojne s starši emigrirali iz Jugoslavije.[120]

SDV je ob koncu desetletja ugotavljala, da je slovenska politična emigracija heterogena, tako idejno kot organizacijsko: razlikovala se je tako v idejah, metodah delovanja, uveljavitvi v posameznih tujih državah in razdrobljenosti po tujih državah. V splošnem jo je SDV leta 1969 ponovno razdelila, tokrat glede idejno strukturo politične emigracije in njeno „*popularnost*“, čeprav razdelitev ni predstavljala nič novega. Prvo skupino je namreč predstavljala skupina emigracije, ki je bila privrženka samostojne slovenske države (zlasti Gibanje za samostojno slovensko državo), naslednja skupina so bile organizacije „*liberalistične pozicije*“ (zlasti Stara pravda), organizacije ostankov bivših meščanskih strank (SKD, SLS in SNO in ZDSPB) ter emigrantska duhovščina s političnimi tendencami.[121]

SDV je ob koncu šestdesetih opažala tudi povečano depolitizacijo, pasivizacijo in razslojevanje zlasti starejše politične emigracije, ki naj bi bilo hitrejše od pomlajevanja oz. priliva novih aktivnih sil, ter s tem izboljšanje intelektualne strukture.[122] Slednje naj bi bilo „*stara težnja slovenske politične emigracije*“. Ključne osebe pri slovenski politični emigraciji so konec šestdesetih še zmeraj ostajale: Ciril Žebot, Ljubo Sirc, Dušan Pleničar, Franjo Sekulec in Vinko Levstik. V poročilih prednjači Ciril Žebot, ki si je močno prizadeval za enotnost slovenske politične emigracije (spremembe naj bi dosegel pri Gibanju za samostojno slovensko državo, kjer naj bi iz prejšnjega zavračanja priznanje obstoječe družbene ureditve v SFRJ, začela nastajati „*nova smer konfederativne ureditve Jugoslavije*“), leta 1968 pa je celo obiskal Slovenijo, da bi razpravljal o politični in finančni samostojnosti Slovenije. Tudi Vinko Levstek iz Rima, ki je leta 1968 izdal več brošur, letakov in razpečeval „sovražno gradivo“ (zla-

120 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Informacija o slovenski politični emigraciji, datum neznan 1969, 6.

121 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Slovenska politična emigracija na zapadu, 17. 9. 1969, 5–7.

122 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Informacija o slovenski politični emigraciji, datum neznan 1969, 35–38.

sti tisk) tako v Italiji, Avstriji kot Sloveniji, je veljal za predstavnika „*jedra slovenske emigracije*". Tako tudi Ljubo Sirc, ki naj bi podpiral zlasti mladino in študente v okviru Študijskega centra za jugoslovanske zadeve v Londonu. Zaradi njegovega, kot so zapisali, „*taktičnega antikomunizma*" je imel pri SDV posebno mesto skupaj s Pleničarjem in Sekulecem, ki sta prav tako delovala v Londonu. Prav omenjeni „taktični antikomunizem" naj bi bil konec šestdesetih glavna smer slovenske politične emigracije.[123]

* * *

Na splošno naj bi glavne naloge političnih emigrantskih skupin po ocenah SDV bile izboljšati zveze s Slovenijo in tja tudi s pomočjo infiltracije med prebivalce prenašati idejo o samostojni Sloveniji, izkoristiti več možnosti publiciranja v mednarodnem prostoru in izboljšati socialno mrežo s čim več „*političnimi ljudmi*" z namenom nenehnega opozarjanja na „*slovenski problem*".[124] Nanj je opozarjal zlasti tisk: letno je v povprečju po informacijah SDV izhajalo preko 100 vrst rednih časopisov in revij enkratnih publikacij, brošur, beletrističnih del in raznih znanstvenih razprav ter posebnih publikacij v tujih jezikih (navedli so npr. v letu 1965 izdane publikacije z nakladami po več tisoč izvodov), ki so pisali proti tedanjemu jugoslovanskemu političnemu sistemu. Od tega naj bi jih na slovensko ozemlje prihajalo okoli 3000 na leto. Slovenska politična emigracija se je za izražanje svojih idej posluževala tudi radijskih postaj ter tujih časopisov in revij.[125] Emigrantskemu tisku je SDV posvečala posebno pozornost. V Arhivu Republike Slovenije je v fondu AS 1931 ohranjenih okoli 80.000 emigrantskih dosjejev (Jenuš, 2016, 69).

Dejavnost politične emigracije je bila vsekakor torej osrediščena na tisk. Do leta 1963 naj bi ob večjem številu knjig brošur izhajalo kar 136 emigrantskih časopisov vse jugoslovanske emigracije. Slovenska politična policija je 126 izmed njih ocenila za „sovražne", število preko 100 različnih časopisov in revij se je ohranjalo vse do konca šestdesetih.[126] Od slovenskega emigrantskega tiska naj bi jih bilo „po nepopolnih podatkih" iz leta 1967 časopisov 22,

123 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Slovenska politična emigracija, Vaša depeša št. 4580/1, Beograd, 30. 5. 1969, 1–3.

124 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 12.

125 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija in njeno sovražno delovanje proti Jugoslaviji, 10. 3. 1966, 12.

126 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Pregled emigrantskega tiska slovenske emigracije, točen datum neznan 1969, 1; t. e. 1168, Emigrantski tisk – analize, MA 3200-6, Propagandna dejavnost emigracije, oktober 1963, 1.

od tega največ v ZDA in Argentini.[127] Vse so ne le v šestdesetih, temveč vse do razpada Jugoslavije skrbno nadzirali, analizirali skoraj vsako številko ter vodili evidenco poročil zanje. V začetku šestdesetih let je slovenska politična policija ugotavljala, da je slovenska politična emigracija izboljšala kvaliteto svojega pisanja, si prizadeva za povečanje števila naročnikov in dopisnikov ter za razširjanje tiska tudi na območju Jugoslavije. Kot najaktivnejše založnike publikacij emigrantskega tiska so šteli zlasti Mohorjevo družbo v Celovcu, AONS v Trstu ter SKA, ki je, kot že omenjeno, izdajala svoj glasnik *Glas slovenske kulturne akcije*,[128] kamor so objavljali zlasti poročila o kulturnih dogodkih po svetu pa tudi komentarje in razprave o slovenski kulturi, ki so se je avtorji lotevali dokaj kritično. SKA je izdajala še revijo *Meddobje*, kjer so (vsaj v prvem desetletju izhajanja) številni avtorji (pisatelji, pesniki, esejisti, kritiki ipd.) pisali o kulturnem življenje doma in po svetu, objavljali so kritike, ocene, poročila o knjigah in razstavah ter različne preglede (Horvat, 2000, 245). Sodelovali so tudi z Mohorjevo družbo v Celovcu in goriško Mohorjevo družbo.[129]

Za aktivni „sovražni tisk", ki je bil v šestdesetih aktivno spremljan, je slovenska tajna politična policija označevala naslednja glasila:

Svobodna Slovenija, ki je izhajal v Buenos Aiersu od leta 1948. Tednik je zagovarjal koncept samostojne Slovenije in je kot glasilo SKD najpogosteje objavljal prispevke Mihe Kreka.

Slovenska svoboda, mesečnik, ki ga je v Münchnu, kot že omenjeno, izdajal konzorcij Akcijskega odbora za neodvisno Slovenijo in je „*proklamiral idejo povsem samostojne slovenske države*."

Slovenska država, ki je izhajal v Torontu od leta 1950 s strani emigrantske organizacije Gibanje za samostojno slovensko državo. Največ prispevkov je bilo s strani Cirila Žebota. Časopis je bil označen za izredno sovražen zaradi „*osnovne ideje o borbi za slovensko državo*".

Smer v slovensko državo, glasilo buenosaireškega Slovenskega državnega gibanja, ki je prav tako podpiralo idejo o samostojni Sloveniji „*z nekaj več elementi demokratičnih prvin tipa zapadnega pojmovanja demokracije*".

Vestnik, mesečna revija Zveze slovenskih protikomunističnih borcev, ki je izhajal v Buenos Airesu od leta 1949, sodelovali pa so tudi s časnikom *Svobodna*

127 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na zahodu splošno (do 1963), Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 22. ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1168, Emigrantski tisk – analize, MA 3200-6, Slovenski emigrantski tisk (kratek opis), sestavil: Anton Slabe, Ljubljana, 20. 2. 1967, 1.

128 Prva številka Glasa SKA je izšla leta 1954 ob ustanovitvi SKA kot mesečno poročilo o delovanju Slovenske kulturne akcije. Od 1955–70 je izhajal večkrat mesečno, od 1970 do 1979 pa je postal mesečnik.

129 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1153, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 24; Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Pregled emigrantskega tiska slovenske emigracije, točen datum neznan 1969, 1.

Slovenija. UDV ga je označila za „*izjemno sovražnega Jugoslaviji*“. Objavljal je zlasti spomine nekdanjih domobrancev in leposlovje.

Klic Triglava je bil časopis emigrantske organizacije Stara pravda v Londonu, ki se je označevala za nadstrankarsko. Urejal ga je Dušan Pleničar brez izrazite programske usmeritve, večinoma poročila in novice iz Jugoslavije.

Pismo je izdajala Slovenska pisarna v Londonu in ga je vodila skupina Mihe Kreka, njegov urednik pa je bi Franjo Sekulac. Objavljali so načeloma vesti drugega emigrantskega tiska. Tudi tega je UDV označila za „*zelo sovražnega*“ z značajem „*informativnega biltena*“.

Demokracija, glasilo SDZ v Trstu, ki je izhajalo na štirinajst dni in „*Jugoslaviji ni naklonjen in o njej sovražno piše*.“

Tabor, glasilo buenosaireške Zveze slovenskih protikomunističnih borcev, pri čemer se vsebina glasila približuje torej zlasti *Vestniku*, „*z nekaj več elementi privrženosti ‚samoslovenstvu‘*.“

Glas slovenske kulturne akcije, mesečnik Slovenske kulturne akcije z značajem „*informativno, recenzijsko in kritično za področje kulturne in sorodne dejavnosti*“.

Kot „sovražne“ časopise, vezane oz. delno vezane na emigrantsko duhovščino s politično vsebino pa so označili naslednje časopise: *Ameriška domovina* s prilogo *Slovenija* je izhajal v Clevelandu s strani organizacije Kranjsko slovenske katoliške enote. UDV je pripisala, da gre za manj napredno emigrantsko skupino, ki naj bi jo vodila politična emigracija in duhovniki; *Amerikanski Slovenec*, ki je bil prav tako tednik kranjsko-slovenske katoliške enote; *Katoliški misijoni*, glasnik Slovenske misijonarske zveze, ki je bila ustanovljena že leta 1923 v Buenos Airesu; *Duhovno življenje* s prilogo *Božje stezice*, prav tako iz Buenos Airesa; časopis *Ave Maria*, ki so ga izdajali slovenski frančiškani v Lermontu že od leta 1908; *Naš tednik – Kronika*, časopis Narodnega sveta koroških Slovencev iz Celovca; *Katoliški glas* Slovenske katoliške skupnosti iz Trsta, ki pa je izhajal v Gorici.[130] Proti koncu šestdesetih pa so začeli biti pozorni tudi na zamejski emigrantski časopis, ki ga je izdajala Mohorjeva družba v Celovcu, *Naša luč*[131], čeprav je začel izhajati že v začetku petdesetih let, a je šele ob koncu šestdesetih revija začela dobivati, po besedah SDV, „*kvalitetnejšo zunanjo formo in vsebinske spremembe*“.[132]

130 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 1153, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 24–26.

131 Podrobnejše analize posameznih številk časopisa so se strani SDV začele v sedemdesetih letih, npr. ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 2314, Recenzije emigrantskega in tujega tiska, Subverzivno-propagandno delovanje revije Naša luč, Analiza Naše luči, Ljubljana, 9. 4. 1973, 1–22; Analize emigrantsko-katoliške revije Naša luč (1951–1971), Ljubljana 7. januarja 1972, 1–26; Recenzije emigrantskega in tujega tiska, Subverzivno-propagandno delovanje revije Naša luč, Ljubljana, september 1980, 1–12; Recenzije emigrantskega in tujega tiska, Subverzivno-propagandno delovanje revije Naša luč, O čem in kako poroča Naša luč, Ljubljana, 27. 2. 1981, 1–13 idr.

132 ARS, AS 1931, t. e. 2314, Recenzije emigrantskega in tujega tiska, Subverzivno-propagandno delovanje revije Naša luč, Analiza Naše luči, Ljubljana, 9. 4. 1973, 3.

Kot „zanimive“ je SDV označila tudi naslednje v šestdesetih izhajajoče revije: *Družabna pravda* (Argentina), *Meddobje* (Argentina), *Slovenska pot* (Argentina), *Slovenska beseda*, *Review*, *Zbornik, Odmevi iz osme* (ZDA), *Most* (Italija) ter verske *Apostolska vera* (ZDA), *Baragov vestnik* (Argentina), *Med nami povedano* (ZRN), *Med nami* (Italija), *Nedelja* (Avstrija), *Otrok božji* (Avstrija), *Oznanilo* (Argentina), *Božja beseda* (Kanada), *Duhovno življenje* (Argentina), *Misli* (Avstralija) ter ostale publikacije.[133]

Za glavne teme, o katerih je emigrantski tisk v začetku šestdesetih pisal, je SDV štela: izpostavljanje težav jugoslovanskega gospodarstva, kampanjo proti ameriški gospodarski pomoči Jugoslaviji, kampanjo za bojkot jugoslovanskega blaga v ZDA in *Zakon o amnestiji*.[134] V tisku naj bi tako predstavljali, da je ekonomsko stanje v SFRJ nevzdržno, da se veča brezposelnost, nepravilno gospodarsko orientacijo, nesposoben kader ter slovensko gospodarsko stagnacijo; pisali so o pomanjkanju demokratične svobode, zlasti zatiranju slovenščine, „*nevzdržnih*“ razmerah na področju kulturnega ustvarjanja, preganjanju mladih slovenskih literatov ipd. ter pritiskih na kmete in obrtnike, o nepravičnem življenjskem slogu vodilnih v primerjavi s splošno javnostjo ipd. Poročilo iz leta 1967 navaja, da naj bi bila vsebinska razlika med tiskom v drugi polovici in začetkom šestdesetih v tem, da se skuša bolj prilagajati tedanjim pogojem in splošni politični situaciji, na podlagi česar je spremenila taktiko pisanja. Kot že rečeno, se je emigracija obračala tako k svojim somišljenikom kot tudi jugoslovanskim funkcionarjem, pomembnim jugoslovanskim kulturno-prosvetnim institucijam in članom ZK.[135]

Slovenska emigracija je svoj tisk poskušala prinašati tako preko pošte, v manjšem obsegu pa tudi z delavci in s potniki, ki so odhajali v tujino in se vračali. Konec šestdesetih so v osrednjem poročilu o slovenski politični emigraciji navedli, da je skozi šestdeseta izhajalo še ogromno drugih publikacij z „*enkratno propagandno akcijo*“ (brošure, letaki ipd.) ter številna beletristična dela. V letu 1968 je SDV zaplenila kar 14 knjig beletristike in znanstvenih del, 881 različnih časopisov (največ *Slovenske države*), 871 brošur in 86 letakov.

> *Zaplenjene publikacije niso dovolj trdna osnova za konstatacijo vnesene sovražne literature, posebno zaradi odprtih meja in ogromnega prometa preko mej. Predpostavljamo, da so količine vnesenega emigrantskega tiska precej večje, kot smo jih zaplenili. Nimamo dokazov, da so naši emigrantje*

133 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1168, Emigrantski tisk – analize, MA 3200-6, Slovenski emigrantski tisk – seznam publikacij, datum neznan 1967 1–7; t.e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Dodatek k „Informaciji o organiziranosti in stališčih slovenske politične emigracije“, 24. 8. 1968, 4–7.

134 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1153, MA 3200-1, Slovenska politična emigracija v zapadnih državah, Sestavil: Anton Kovič, Ljubljana, oktober 1963, 23–26.

135 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1168, Emigrantski tisk – analize, MA 3200-6, Slovenski emigrantski tisk (kratek opis), sestavil: Anton Slabe, Ljubljana, 20. 2. 1967, 3–5.

vplivali na družbeno politično dogajanje pri nas, čeprav se predstavljajo kot iniciatorji naših političnih akcij.[136]

Kot piše Drnovšek (1998, 134), je bilo vse od leta 1945 za vnos vseh tujih časopisov (tudi pisanih v slovenski besedi) potrebno posebno dovoljenje iz Beograda, torej je bil ves tisk brez posebnega dovoljena prepovedan in ob ugotovitvi posedovanja zaplenjen. Po podatkih arhivov Uprave za emigracijo pri Zveznem sekretariatu za notranje zadeve naj bi bilo od druge svetovne vojne pa vse do leta 1990 skupaj zaplenjenih kar 480 izvodov emigrantskega tiska, v največji meri časopisi *Svobodna Slovenija*, *Klic Triglava*, *Slovenska država* ter *Katoliški glas*.

V Narodni in univerzitetni knjižnici (NUK) v Ljubljani je že od leta 1945, torej vse od ustanovitve, obstajal „skrivni fond", t. i. fond D oz. Direktorjev fond, kamor so lahko po *Zakonu o tisku* iz leta 1945 NUK-u pošiljali tudi take knjige in druge tiskane stvari, katerih razpečevanje je bilo iz katerih koli razlogov prepovedano. Tako je imel NUK od svoje ustanovitve dalje vsa pravna zagotovila, da lahko zbira tudi tisk slovenske politične emigracije in ostalo „sporno" gradivo. Po zakonu ga je morala bibliografsko obdelati, shranjeno je bilo v posebnih prostorih, izposoja pa omogočena le za znanstvenoraziskovalno delo (Švent, 2010, 247–255).

ZAKLJUČEK

Slovenska politična emigracija je v šestdesetih letih zaradi ostrejših mednarodnih odnosov v smislu nasprotovanja vzhodnega in zahodnega bloka in s tem naraščanja protikomunistične pobude v zahodnih državah vedno glasneje izražala svoje ideje ter zahteve, zlasti proti tedanjemu jugoslovanskemu političnemu režimu. V osnovi sta se oblikovali dve vrsti politične emigracije glede na cilj svojega delovanja pri vprašanju slovenske države. Prva si je prizadevala za Slovenijo znotraj bolj demokratično, po vzoru zahodnih držav urejene Jugoslavije, in večjo slovensko avtonomijo, druge pa so bile skupine, ki so takšen model zavračale in si prizadevale za samostojno, neodvisno Slovenijo.

Obe vrsti slovenske politične emigracije sta bili za obstoječi politični sistem in njegovo vodstvo nezaželeni, v smislu ekstremne politične emigracije celo nevarni oz. „sovražni" in zato pod budnim očesom tedanje slovenske politične policije. Ta jo je v začetku šestdesetih v grobem razdelila na lojalno in sovražno, slednjo pa dalje na zmerno in ekstremno politično emigracijo. Naloge in cilji, ki si jih je slovenska politična policija zastavila glede politične emigracije, so zajemale zlasti preventivno zaustavitev ekstremnih „sovražnih" akcij,

136 ARS, SI AS 1931, t. e. 1154, MA 3200-1, Emigracija na Zahodu (1969–1970), Slovenska politična emigracija, Vaša depeša št. 4580/1, Beograd, 30. 5. 1969, 2.

infiltracijo sodelavcev v organizacije in društva slovenske politične emigracije za pridobivanje informacij ter operativne akcije za ustavitev raznih dejavnosti emigracije, ki je bila usmerjena proti Jugoslaviji.

Emigracija je bila v očeh represivnih in obveščevalnih organov nevarna iz številnih razlogov: preko stikov s sorodniki, prijatelji v domovini ali preko novo emigriranih oseb je zlasti „sovražna“ emigracija zbirala podatke, ki bi jih bilo mogoče koristiti za blatenje Jugoslavije na Zahodu in s tem rušenje njenega ugleda ter pravnega reda; v tem smislu se je emigracija v določenem delu poistovetila s cilji tujih obveščevalnih služb, ki so jim emigranti služili kot vir informacij, kot agenti in vezni člen z matico.

Pomembno sredstvo slovenske politične emigracije je bila propaganda. Slovenska politična emigracija je zgradila širok krog publikacij (teh je bilo v šestdesetih 136), s pomočjo katerih je širila kritiko o avtokratskem režimu in vzpodbujala miselnost po potrebi uvedbe demokratičnih sprememb. Posebno moteči pa so bili poskusi emigracije, kako svoj tisk plasirati med slovenske (jugoslovanske) državljane, ki so bili na raznih legalnih potovanjih po svetu. Izhajajoč iz poročil UDV in SDV je namreč razvidno, da je tihotapska mreža, kljub zagroženim kaznim, delovala. Za namene izpolnjevanja nalog, spremljanja, nadzorovanja in operativnih akcij, so uporabljali široka pooblastila in raznovrstne metode ter sredstva, saj je bil problem politične emigracije in njenega subverzivnega delovanja zmeraj na vrhu obveznosti slovenske politične policije. Pri tem so stavili na sistem agenture in virov, ki naj bi, vsaj takšna je bila teorija, doma in na tujem, obveščevalni službi služili kot sredstvo za preprečevanje delovanja disidentov in režimu nasprotnih skupin. Iz poročil UDV in SDV izhaja, da se je ta sistem vzpostavljal postopoma in (pre)počasi. Zlasti v obravnavanem obdobju šestdesetih let so v poročilih pogosto tarnali nad nesposobnostjo zagotovitve ofenzivnega delovanja preprečevanja emigrantskih dejavnosti. Pomanjkanje kadra ali njegova (pod)povprečna pripravljenost za delo sta namreč onemogočala kratke reakcijske čase in proaktivno posredovanje. Obveščevalna služba je tako pogosto le poskušala preprečevati najhujše in le defenzivno odgovarjala na delovanje slovenske politične emigracije. Odklonilen odnos represivnih in obveščevalnih organov do jugoslovanske/slovenske politične emigracije je bil stalnica jugoslovanske politike pravzaprav vse do razpada države, zato je imela oznaka „emigracija“ zmeraj negativno konotacijo in številne pridevnike: sovražna, belogardistična, domobranska, fašistična, klerofašistična itd. (prim. Drnovšek, 2010, 255–256).

Tako je slovenska politična emigracija nastala in razvijala svojo identiteto ob vzporedni eksistenci „zunanjega sovražnika“ v obliki jugoslovanskega političnega režima. Prav občutek zunanje ogroženosti je nenehno vzdrževal stanje notranje povezanosti in trdnosti, zato je bil v smislu obstoja emigracije sovražnik, a hkrati dobrodošel (Žigon, 2001, 128–129).

Šestdeseta leta so skupaj z novimi idejami politične emigracije, zlasti v smeri samostojne države, pomenile torej porast emigrantskega tiska, predvsem časopi-

sov, pa tudi brošur, letakov in beletristike. S tem je emigracija povzročila tudi več dela za SDV, ki se je trudila analizirati, spremljati, nadzorovati in zaplenjevati čim več takega gradiva. Največ prepovedi širjenja tujih časopisov pa se je zgodilo v naslednjem desetletju, v sedemdesetih letih, ko je bilo prepovedanih kar 740 tujih časopisov (Drnovšek, 1998, 136). Raziskava o obravnavi emigrantskega tiska s strani SDV v naslednjem desetletju tako odpira še več vprašanj in analiz še ne povsem obdelanega arhivskega gradiva in si s tem vsekakor zasluži svoj samostojen prispevek.

SLOVENIAN POLITICAL EMIGRATION THROUGH THE EYES OF THE STATE SECURITY SERVICE IN THE 1960S

Darko FRIŠ
University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Koroška cesta 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenia
e-mail: darko.fris@um.si

Gregor JENUŠ
Ministry of Culture, Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, Sector for special archives, Zvezdarska 1, 1002 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: gregor.jenus@gov.si

Ana ŠELA
University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Koroška cesta 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenia
e-mail: ana.sela1@um.si

SUMMARY

The State Security Service (SDV), or prior to 1967, the State Security Administration (UDV), which is known in history as the Slovenian secret political police, maintained constant control over Slovenian, particularly political emigration – which was divided into moderate, loyal, and extreme. According to the Slovenian secret political police the political emigrants were classified into several heterogeneous groups with different ideological platforms, which were supposed to be strongly opposed to each other. They were allegedly united, however, by a common hate for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which aided the rise of radical nationalism, separatism, and anti-communism. In the paper, the authors present "hostile" or dangerous organizations of Slovene political emigration to the Yugoslav authorities, explain the methods of monitoring emigrants in the West, and their activities, which were expressed through Yugoslavia's "hostile" propaganda press through the eyes of the Slovene political police based on mostly unpublished archival material kept by the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia within the fond of the Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs (AS RSNZ). The authors focus on the turbulent 1960s, when the number of emigrants increased, and because of the sharper schism between the Eastern and Western blocs, as well as the rise of anti-communist ideas in the West, they increasingly voiced ideas after the change of Slovenia's Yugoslav one-party political system. The tasks and goals set by the Slovene political police regarding political emigration included the preventive cessation of extreme "hostile" actions, the infiltration of employees into Slovenian political emigration organizations and associations to obtain information, and operational actions to stop various emigration activities directed against Yugoslavia. Slovene political emigration thus arose and developed its identity alongside existence of an "external enemy" in the form of the Yugoslav political regime.

Keywords: political emigration, Slovenian emigrant press, Service/Administration of State Security Service, Socialist Republic of Slovenia

VIRI IN LITERATURA

ARS AS 1931 – Arhiv Republike Slovenije (ARS), Republiški sekretariat za notranje zadeve Socialistične republike Slovenije (AS 1931).

Bajc, G. (2010): Vloga in delovanje politične emigracije iz osrednje Slovenije v povojnem Trstu. V: Štih, P. & B. Balkovec (ur.): Migracije in slovenski prostor od antike do danes. Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 376–393.

Bajc, G. & U. Lampe (2017): Kritična analiza uporabe anglo-ameriških dokumentov glede nasilja ob koncu druge svetovne vojne v Julijski krajini. Studia Historica Slovenica, 17, 1, 247–287.

Bajc, G., Melanšek, T. & D. Friš (2020): Uvod v zgodovino spremljanja britanske obveščevalne dejavnosti na Slovenskem – „samoevalvacije" slovenske Službe državne varnosti. Studia Historica Slovenica, 20, 3, 839–878.

Božič, M. (2010): Na poti v svet: Prebežniki severne meje 1945–1961. V: Štih, P. & B. Balkovec (ur.): Migracije in slovenski prostor od antike do danes. Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 413–430.

Čoh, M. (2011): Dosje Andreja Glušiča. Studia Historica Slovenica, 11, 2–3, 501–524.

Čoh Kladnik, M. (2019): Sodišče narodne časti na Ptuju. Studia Historica Slovenica, 19, 1, 107–134.

Delo. Ljubljana, 1959–.

Lukšič Hacin, M. (2019): Političnost migracij po drugi svetovni vojni: od politike revanšizma do amnestije. Dve domovini / Two Homelands, 50, 183–198.

Deželak Barič, V. (2016): Priprave in izvedba revolucionarnega prevzema oblasti na Slovenskem leta 1945. Studia Historica Slovenica, 16, 2, 382–396.

Dornik Šubelj, **L. (1993):** Nastanek in razvoj organov za notranje zadeve republike Slovenije v obdobju 1945 do 1963. Arhivi XVI, 1–2, 78–81.

Drnovšek, **M. (1996):** Begunstvo in slovenska politična emigracija. V: Drnovšek, M. & D. Bajt (ur.): Slovenska kronika XX. stoletja: 1941–1945, Ljubljana, Nova revija, 98–99.

Drnovšek, **M. (1998):** Odnos Partije do slovenske emigracije. V: Jančar, D. (ur.): Temna stran meseca: kratka zgodovina totalitarizma v Sloveniji 1945–1990. Ljubljana, Nova revija, 234–247.

Drnovšek, M. (2004): Nekaj utrinkov iz odnosa slovenske oblasti in Partije do povojnih izseljence. V: Batagelj, G. & P. Korošec Kocmur (ur.): Slovenija v svetu, zbornik taborov 1994–2004. Ljubljana, Izseljensko društvo Slovenija v svetu, 108–115.

Drnovšek, **M. (2010):** Izseljevanje „rakrana" slovenskega naroda. Od misijonarja Friderika Barage do migracijske politike države Slovenije. Ljubljana, Nova revija.

Ferenc, **M. (2010):** Posledice izselitve kočevskih Nemcev in neizvedene kolonizacije Kočevske med vojno in po njej. V: Štih, P. & B. Balkovec (ur.): Migracije in slovenski prostor od antike do danes. Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 528–551.

Friš, D. & D. Hazemali (2017): Slovenski glas in Branko Pistivšek pod nadzorom Službe državne varnosti. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 27, 4, 807–822.

Griesser Pečar, **T. (2018**)**:** Ciril Žebot. Prizadevanje za samostojno Slovenijo. Acta Histriae, 26, št. 1, 277–304.

Horvat, **A. (2000):** Periodični tisk v povojni slovenski emigrantski skupnosti v Argentini. Dve domovini / Two Homelands, 11–12, 241–249.

Jaklitsch, H. (2018): Slovenski begunci v taboriščih v Italiji 1945–1949. Ljubljana, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino.

Jenuš, **G. (2013):** Varstvo občutljivih osebnih podatkov v arhivskem gradivu nekdanje tajne politične policije – med zakonom in prakso. Arhivi 36, 1, 57–74.

Jenuš, **G. (2016):** Digitalizacija in anonimizacija arhivskega gradiva, ki vsebuje z arhivskim zakonom varovane kategorije podatkov. Doksis. Ljubljana, Media.doc, 66–74.

Jenuš, G. & Friš, D. (2017): Specialna vojna. Prispevek o ukrepih jugoslovanskih organov za notranje zadeve pri nadzoru državne meje in v boju proti „zunanjim“ in „notranjim sovražnikom“. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 27, 4, 777–792.

Jevnikar, M. (1996): Slovenski domovi v Južni Ameriki. Dve domovini / Two Homelads, 7, 97–112.

Nežmah, B. (2020): Oktobrska revolucija med mitom in resničnostjo. Studia Historica Slovenica, 20, 1, 119–142.

Koncilija, Ž. (2015): Sodni procesi na Slovenskem v dveh Jugoslavijah. Ljubljana, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino.

Lampe, U. (2020): Kako je ujetništvo spremenilo družinsko življenje: primer deportirancev iz Julijske krajine v Jugoslavijo po drugi svetovni vojni. Studia Historica Slovenica, 20, 3, 773–810.

Melik, J. & Jeraj, M. (2016): Slovensko kazensko sodstvo v letu 1945. Studia Historica Slovenica, 16, 2, 449–465.

Nared, J. (2001): Slovenska povojna politična emigracija in razvoj ideje o neodvisnosti Slovenije. Dve domovini / Two Homelands, 13, 133–163.

Pirjevec, J. (1995): Jugoslavija (1918–1992). Nastanek, razvoj ter razpad Karadjordjevićeve in Titove Jugoslavije. Koper, Lipa.

Pirjevec, **J. (2006):** Yugoslav political emigration to Australia after World War II. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 16, 1, 1–6.

Pirjevec, **J. (2011):** Tito in tovariši. Ljubljana, Cankarjeva založba.

Ramšak, **J. (2010)**: Politična emigracija v Trstu in vprašanje samostojne Slovenije – Primer Franc Jeza. Acta Histriae, 18, 4, 961–986.

Ramšak, **J. (2011):** Neodvisna Slovenija od konca leta 1964“. Kritika položaja Slovenije v Jugoslaviji in zgodnje ideje o samostojnosti. V: Ferenc, M., Hadalin, J. & B. Babič (ur.): Osamosvojitev 1991: država in demokracija na Slovenskem v zgodovinskih razsežnostih. Ljubljana, Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 197–207.

Repe, B. (2004): Politična represija v socialistični Sloveniji. Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino, 44, 1, 83–94.

Repe, B. (2010): Izgon (usoda slovenskih izgnancev med leti 1941–1945). V: Štih, P. & B. Balkovec (ur.): Migracije in slovenski prostor od antike do danes. Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 245–256.

Simoniti, V. (1998): Permanentna revolucija, totalitarizem, strah. V: Jančar, D. (ur.): Temna stran meseca: kratka zgodovina totalitarizma v Sloveniji 1945–1990. Ljubljana, Nova revija, 24–36.

Sirc, L. (2015a): Intervju z Ljubom Sircem, 1. del: Razloženo je bilo, da je osvobodilni boj le začasna taktika. Https://www.portalplus.si/842/intervju-z-ljubom--sircem-1-del-razloz/ (zadnji dostop: 25.06.2021).

Sirc, L. (2015b): Intervju z Ljubom Sircem, 2. del: Očitno slovenski volivci uživajo v tem, da imajo več kot pol manjše plače kot Avstrijci. Https://www.portalplus.si/843/intervju-z-ljubom-sircem-1-del-ocitno/ (zadnji dostop: 20.06.2021).

Šela, A. & D. Friš (2017): Nova revija v primežu Službe državne varnosti. Annales, Series historia et sociologia, 27, 4, 823–836.

Šela, A. & D. Hazemali (2020): Spremljanje slovenskih delavcev na začasnem delu in bivanju v Zvezni republiki Nemčiji v sedemdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja: prispevek k poznavanju zgodovine slovenske Službe državne varnosti. Studia Historica Slovenica, 20, 3, 879–920.

Šela, A., Hazemali, D. & T. Melanšek (2020): Ustroj in delovanje slovenske tajne politične policije v drugi polovici šestdesetih let dvajsetega stoletja. Studia Historica Slovenica 20, 3, 811–838.

Šela, A. & M. Matjašič Friš (2019): Nadzor Službe državne varnosti nad revijo Zaliv. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 29, 4, 675–688.

Švent, R. (1995): Politična emigracija. V: Drnovšek, M. (ur.): Enciklopedija Slovenije. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 77–81.

Švent, R. (2007): Slovenski begunci v Avstriji 1945–1950. Ljubljana, ZRC, ZRC SAZU.

Švent, **R. (2010):** Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica – ujetost med veljavno zakonodajo in narodnim poslanstvom. V: Režek, M. (ur.): Cenzurirano: zgodovina cenzure na Slovenskem od 19. stoletja do danes. Ljubljana, Nova revija, 247–255.

Šturm, L., Dornik Šubelj, L. & P. Čelik (2003): Navodila za delo varnostnih organov v SR Sloveniji. Ljubljana, Arhivsko društvo Slovenije.

Žigon, Z. (2001): Iz spomina v prihodnost. Slovenska politična emigracija v Argentini. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC SAZU.

UDK/UDC 94(05) Letnik 29, Koper 2021 ISSN 1318-0185
e-ISSN 2591-1767

VSEBINA / *INDICE GENERALE / CONTENTS*

Inštitut IRRIS